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ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

VOL. IV.

ESSAYS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

BY HIS EMINENCE,

CARDINAL WISEMAN.

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FROUDE'S REMAINS.

[From the *Dublin Review* for May, 1839.]

ART. V.—*Remains of the late Reverend Richard H Froude, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* Vol. ii London: 1838.

It is not often that the leaders of opinions let the public into a view of their secret counsels and feelings; but when they do, we think it does credit to the uprightness and sincerity of their intentions. It shows that they wish us to be acquainted with the hidden springs of their actions, and even to peer behind the veil which generally conceals the man from our sight, while we are viewing only his productions. Nay, the more unreservedly the human weaknesses of the individuals are revealed, and the more the feeling is expressed, that with their exposure, or in spite of it, their cause will succeed, the more highly we shall estimate their confidence in the correctness of their views, and the disinterestedness of their zeal in propagating them. These reflections have been suggested to us by the perusal of Mr. Froude's remains. He was, while living, one

of the most enthusiastic members of the theological school, from which the *Tracts for the Times* have emanated. He died in 1836, having attained only the age of thirty-three; and was thus prevented from arriving at that full maturity of religious ideas which was evidently preparing in his mind, and bearing him onward towards the perception of many Catholic truths. His surviving friends have thought it expedient to collect his *Remains*, and give them to the world in two volumes. As the second of these consists principally of sermons, in which, though there is much to commend, there is nothing sufficiently interesting to detain us, we will confine ourselves entirely to the first, which contains his journals, private thoughts, and letters to friends.

A preface of twenty-two pages betrays the editors' anxiety to repel a twofold charge; one against themselves, the other against their deceased friend. In the first place, they seem to fear lest considerable censure may be cast upon them for the publication of Mr. Froude's crude theories, and trivial self-accusations, as something approaching to a sacrilegious violation of the rights of friendship. We are not disposed to take our place either among the reprovers, or among the applauders, of the act. We cannot but feel that we should have scarcely ventured to deal as they have done, with any one who had tranquilly looked up to us with a confiding heart, and the peace of whose memory we should have

wished to consult. When one, whose noble and public proofs of great virtue far outweigh the errors of youth, or whose public reputation makes his example, when evil, a warning, and when repentant, a reparation and an encouragement:—when one, in short, like St. Augustine, boldly, but humbly, reveals to the eyes of the Church the wretchedness of his early sinful life, we admire in awe the strange manifestation of a sublime spirit of Christian virtue, and we bless the Divine wisdom that has caused it to be vouchsafed to us. But the struggles of one who has not compensated for his weaknesses by any noble results, who withdraws from our sight a combatant, and not a conqueror, who only presents us the spectacle of a frail nature, such as we all may have, wrestling with daily and anxious trials, and not overcoming them; these struggles, not spontaneously exhibited, but transferred from the closet to the public stage, have neither the grandeur, nor the instruction, of the other lesson. Still, there may be reasons, unknown to us, to justify, certainly in the eyes of the editors, this sacrifice of private feeling to a sense of public utility. Some, they have given in the preface (pp. vi.—ix.), and it is for the public to judge of them;—we think, in fact, that they would have materially strengthened their reasoning by the following passage in Mr. Froude's Letters to Friends:—

"There was a passage in a letter I have just received from my father, that made me feel so infinitely dismal, that

I must write to you about it. He says you have written to him to learn something about me, and to ask what to do with my money. *It really made me feel as if I was dead, and you were sweeping up my remains; and, by the by, if I was dead, why should I be cut off from the privilege of helping on the good cause?* I don't know what money I have left—little enough, I suspect; but, whatever it was, I am superstitious enough to think that any good it could do *in honorem 'Dei et sacrosanctæ matris ecclesiæ,'* would have done something too *'in salutem animæ meæ.'*"—Vol. i. p. 388.

From these words, it appears that the author did contemplate his power of doing good to the cause wherein he was so ardently engaged, even after his death.

The censure of their friends, which the editors foresee, and which forms their bugbear in all their theological researches, is that of approaching too near Catholic, or, as they call it, Romanist, doctrine. They are therefore careful to distinguish between two meanings attached to the term; which may mean "either a predilection for the actual system of the Church of Rome, as distinguished from other parts of Christendom, and particularly for the English Church,* or an overweening value for outward religion, for sacraments, Church polity, public worship, etc." (p. x). With the first definition of Romanism in view, the edit-

* If the reprehensible system, misnamed by these gentlemen Romanism, consists of all those parts of the Catholic religion which differ from the English Church, how comes it that so many of its practices, disciplines, and even dogmas, are objects of envy and covetous desire to these very writers and their friend Mr. Froude?

ors proceed to prove that Mr. Froude could not have this laid to his charge. To this we assent. That there must have, unfortunately, been some barrier between him and the Catholic Church, every one will imagine, who knows that he died without its pale. But we must express our conviction, that the editors have not done credit to their friend, by the manner in which they have endeavored to shield his memory from the charge. It consists in a careful collection of some of his most hasty, unhandsome, and decidedly unreasonable, judgments and opinions, respecting chiefly what he saw in his travels. We consider the dilemma worth illustrating, that either they were so much at a loss for a set-off against his noble avowal of many Catholic truths, as to be content with the worst specimens of his reasoning powers; or else the wall of separation between him and the Catholic Church, as well as the cords which bound him to his own sect, were too flimsy and weak, as being mere matters of prejudice and false feeling, to have long resisted the evidence of truth. In either case, he presents a melancholy instance of how small a grain of prepossession is thought sufficient to overbalance a solid weight of good arguments. For instance, take the following proof of the author's not being a Romanist:—

"How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought! Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, *Popery*, Infidelity: they have it all now, and good luck to them!"—Pref. p. xi.

Truly this sentence betrays alienation enough from our religion; but we do not think it does much honor to the writer's good sense, to wedge Catholicism between the various broods of the Reformation. And it is evidence of a political, hot-brained antagonism, rather than of a sober, rational judgment. Again: "I have seen the priest laughing when at the confessional; and, indeed, it is plain that, unless they made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of the popu lation [of Naples] would be excommunicated" (p. xiii.). Really, is this passage worthy of being pressed into the editors' service? Had Mr. Froude ever witnessed disrespectful behavior in his own Church? If he ever had, would he have allowed of the generalization to all his establishment, implied in the quotation against our hierarchy? Mr. Froude had no evidence that a confession was actually going on, when he saw the priest at Naples laugh; for persons often go to the confessional to speak to the priest on other matters. But we think we have further to complain of the editors, for leaving us to understand, by the form of their quotation, that Mr. Froude witnessed some terrible scenes of gross immorality, involving three-fourths of a population of 300,000 souls. On the contrary, the sentence which follows the passage quoted, but which in this extract is concealed under a few unmeaning dots, would have at once opened the eyes of the sensible reader to the character of the scenes of gross immorality inti-

mated; scenes in which, perhaps, he has himself joined, without being conscious that he ought to be excommunicated. The hiatus should be supplied as follows:—"I think people are injudicious who talk against the Roman Catholics for worshipping saints, and honoring the Virgin, images, etc.; these things may be idolatrous—I cannot make up my mind about it; but, to my mind, *it is the carnival*, which is real, practical idolatry; as it is written, 'the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play'" (p. 294). We might ask, are all the English who frequent a fair, or a theatre, or a ball, to be accounted idolaters? Why not, if the poor Neapolitans are, for their carnival sports? But, before he left Naples, he corrected what he had so unreflectingly written concerning the character of the priests, saying that he "could not be quite confident of his information, as it affected them." We think not; and further acquaintance with them, or inquiries concerning them, would have still further diminished his confidence in it. He even owns that his opinion concerning the idolatry of the Italians is an opinion, grounded upon "a generalization, for which he has not sufficient data" (p. xiv.).

We think we are justified in saying that proofs of Mr. Froude's disinclination to Catholicity must have been very scarce, for the editors to have been induced to bring together these superficial observations, made during a brief residence in a Catholic city, not generally reputed one of the most

edifying. These, however, will not bear comparison with the growing and expanding tendency of his mind towards everything Catholic; and we cannot help feeling, as we peruse his later declarations, that the passages brought so prominently forward by his editors, would have been among those which, dying, he would have wished to blot. Our readers shall soon judge for themselves.

The "Extracts from Journal" present us a picture, at once pleasing and distressing, of a mind yearning after interior perfection, yet at a loss about the means of attaining it; embarked on an ocean of good desires, but without stars or compass by which to steer its course. The minute scrutiny into the motives of his actions, and the distress occasioned by discovering his relapses into faults which most would overlook, show a sensitiveness of conscience in the youthful writer, far more honorable to him, and far more interesting to us, than abilities of a much higher order than what he really possessed, could ever have appeared. There are passages in the Journals which will come home to the inward experience of any one, that has looked narrowly into the more mysterious workings of his own mind, and sought to unravel that maze of apparently conflicting influences, which seem to impel him towards a single action, leaving him afterwards in sad perplexity which of them it was that moved him to it, or gave color and character thereto. How far it may be advisable to commit to paper, even for personal benefit,

these investigations of our most secret tribunal, we have considerable doubt; and instructive as is their record in the case before us, in nothing is it more so than in the proof it gives us, of the necessity of guidance for the conscience and heart, such as the institutions of the Catholic Church alone provide. In the account which Mr. Froude gives of his own infirmities, of his almost fruitless attempts to subdue them, and of the pain and anxiety produced by his solitary struggles, he presents a picture familiar to the experienced eye of any spiritual director in our Church, and a state fully described, and prescribed for, by the numerous writers whom we possess upon the inward life, and the direction of consciences. Many are they who are tossed in the same billows of secret tribulation,—many are they who are bewildered in the same mazes of mental perplexity; but they have not at least the additional horrors, and darkness, of night. Ere they can sink, a hand is stretched out, if they will only grasp it. The troubles and trials which haunt minds constituted like Mr. Froude's, many a skilful guide would have shown him to be mere illusive phantoms, that only serve to turn the attention away from serious dangers, or from solid good—snares cast, by a restlessness of spirit, upon the path, to entangle the feet that tread it.

In fact, we miss throughout these Journals those higher thoughts, and those more vigorous springs of action, which might have been naturally

expected in one determined to attain, even by extraordinary efforts, a sublimer degree of virtue. When we read the lives of our great saints, we see a certain proportion kept between the progress of their interior perfection, and the rigor of their austerities. It is only in extraordinary cases, that the first steps in a saintly life are marked by penitential severities of a higher order: these are gradually increased, with an increasing humility and love of suffering. Moreover, there has ever been a rule and principle to guide them throughout, such as the appointed times and methods prescribed by the Church, the direction of prudent and experienced men, or even a self-imposed, but well-observed, method of regular life. But the young man, whose autobiography is presented to us in this volume, seems to have had no idea of proportion, or of definite object, in his austerities. Fasting seems to have been considered as an end, and not a means, and practiced for its own sake; or if intended for the augmentation of some other good gift, there was a mere vague and indefinite notion of its power, without a specific aim, or a sense of the necessity of other and more important spiritual exercises. Hence we find no mention of any steady, regular system of daily meditation, such as has ever been practiced by all who wish to train themselves up to virtue in our Church, or of daily examination into the state of the conscience, independently of the equivocal plan of registering failings from time to time, for future

perusal. His fasting is without rule or reference to becoming order, unaccompanied by that retirement, and more serious occupation, which would naturally go with it. It was observed on the Sunday (p. 16), contrary to the usages of the ancient Church; and on any other day, subject to the remorse of being broken through at evening, on the temptation of company, or some other unforeseen seduction (pp. 42, 49).

He even went beyond these more usual austerities, and attempted those which a prudent director would have forbidden, or would have reserved for a more disciplined state of mind. This will be shown by the following extracts:—

"I was not up till half-past six; slept on the floor, and a nice uncomfortable time I had of it. I had on a mustard plaster, nearly three hours after I returned from Lloyd's; could not bear it longer: I believe it has answered. Tasted nothing to-day till tea-time; and then only one cup and dry bread. Somehow, it has not made me at all uneasy" (p. 30). "Nov. 12. Felt great reluctance to sleep on the floor last night, and was nearly arguing myself out of it; was not up till half-past six" (p. 44).

The consequence of all this irregular and undirected austerity, into which, with youthful eagerness, he rushed, was, that instead of deriving thence vigor of thought, and closer intimacy with sound spiritual feelings, his spirit, on the contrary, flagged, and at length grew weary, and so fell into that despondency which failure will produce in sensitive minds. This discouragement is visible in many parts of his Journals; for instance:—

"Yet I cannot venture to give myself credit for abstinence, as I found so little difficulty, that, unless my appetite is more subdued than I can suppose, I could not have been hungry. I do not feel any satisfaction in the day; for though I have fasted, I have not turned it to any end for which the fast was instituted. My thoughts have been very wandering. I have been neither able to read nor pray: I could not even fix my mind on Mr. Bonnel's reflections on that very subject. I have not watched myself close enough to be able to record the weaknesses of this evening, but have a general impression that I have not been what I ought."—P. 34.

"I broke my fast at tea, of which, however, I allowed myself to make a meal. I deliberately think that it will be better for me to discontinue for a time these voluntary self-denials; I am quite exhausted by them, little as they have been, and feel incapacitated for executing my duties. Very likely, after a short respite, I may return with great vigor; and I think the impression already made will not go off in a moment. *Nov.* 18. I have slackened my rules to-day, and let go my dreamy feelings, that have been keeping me up. Bad as I am, it seems as if I might, not indeed be too penitent, but penitent in a wrong way; abstinences and self mortifications may themselves be a sort of intemperance; a food to my craving after some sign that I am altering. They ought not to be persevered in, farther than as they are instrumental to a change of character in things of real importance; and the lassitude which I have felt lately, is a sign that they will do me no good just for the present. It is curious to see, how, by denying one affection, we gratify another; and how hard it is to keep a pure motive for any thing. The sensible way is to watch for our predominant affection, as each gets the uppermost, and give it our chief attention: mine, just now, is impatience at finding myself remain the same, in spite of any difference of conduct I adopt. But while I give up punishing myself in my eating, I must be very careful not to indulge."—Pp. 49, 50.

The want of direction and counsel, which the

Catholic Church so eminently supplies, is evident from his letters. Thus he writes to Mr. Keble: —"The fact is, that I have been in a very strange way all the summer; and having had no one to talk to about the things which have bothered me, I have been every now and then getting into fits of enthusiasm or despondency" (p. 204). This will be the inevitable results of the absence of control upon a fervid mind, that seeks after a degree, or rather a character, of excellence, superior to that of others around it. In fact, Mr. Froude discovered that important principle, that obedience to the ordinances of authority gives the great merit to the first degrees of penitential works; those which belong to ordinary Christians, such, that is, as have not reached the perfection of ascetic life. The same friendly monitor, just referred to, seems to have solemnly undeceived him on this important point. For in 1827, he writes to him as follows:—

"I am glad of your advice about penance, for my spirit was so broken down, that I had no vigor to go on even with the trifling self-denials I had imposed on myself; besides, I feel that, though it has in it the color of humility, it is in reality the food of pride. Self-imposed, it seems to me quite different from when imposed by the Church; and even fasting itself, to weak minds, is not free from evil, when, however secretly it is done, one cannot avoid the consciousness of being singular."—P. 212.

This it is that forms at once the great merit and the great support of those who profess the monastic institute; and the absence in Protestant-

ism of that strong principle of docility and obedience, which the Catholic Church inculcates, is an insuperable bar to the introduction of it among Anglicans, which Mr. Froude and his friends appear to have anxiously desired.

While he seems so taken up, through his Journals, with examination of his fasts and austerities, we miss from their pages those cheerful views of religion which result from confidence and love; from the consciousness of a strong will to do God service, and an humble reliance on His mercy, that it will measure this rather than our success. What snatches there are of prayer, bear more the character of one sinking under the fatigue of foiled attempts, and troubled with anxiety from hopelessness of success, than of a young and trusting mind, that presses forward to a work it deems glorious—the work of God and His religion.

But all these faults, which flowed from the religion to which Mr. Froude unfortunately belonged, only beget sympathy in our minds, when reading his ingenuous journals. We see no room for the levity and ridicule with which they have been commented on by some periodicals, nor for the harsh censures of his character, which have been based upon them. We certainly think that his ardent way—more, perhaps, of expressing himself, than of feeling—leads him often to a harsh and reckless way of speaking of others, that must give an unfavorable impression regarding his character;

for we have every reason to believe that he was amiable and gentle. Still, there are so many fine points about him; so much distrust of himself, blended with no inconsiderable genius; so much independence of thought, coupled with deference to the sentiments of others, whom he esteemed more learned or more virtuous than himself; so much lightness of spirit, united to such seriousness of mind upon religious truths;—in fine, so earnest and sincere a desire to improve and perfect himself, that our feelings lead us to pass lightly over his faults, and dwell with pleasure upon his finer qualities. If we have dilated somewhat upon the former, it has been that we considered them the result of the system to which he was by education attached, and which is alone accountable for them.

As, however, he increased in years, his mind began to open to the defects and wants of that system, and boldly to conceive the necessity of correcting them. In this he ran manifestly before his fellows, and seemed only to have been prevented by his premature death, from reaching the goal of Catholic unity, to which we sincerely hope they are tending. Mr. Froude was one of the contributors to the *Tracts for the Times;* but does not seem to have been satisfied with the point at which the principles of that collection stopped short. He evidently saw that consistency of reasoning ought to have carried his friends farther than they had ventured to go; and we think he was prepared to proceed to the extreme of logical

deductions. But we must methodize our observations.

A symptom, which begins at first more faintly, and then deepens in intensity towards the end of his life, is a disgust for Protestantism and the so called Reformation. In 1833, we have the following sentiments:—

"*Sept.* 8. I have been reading a good deal about the Reformation in Queen Elizabeth's time: it is shocking indeed. What do you think of my contemplating *An Apology for the Early Puritans?* I really think they deserve much commiseration. The Episcopalians did not claim '*jus divinum*;' indeed, Queen Elizabeth and her party considered her as the origin of ecclesiastical power."—P. 325.

When at Barbadoes, whither he went for his health, he applied himself to the study of the older controversialists and Reformers, and certainly in no wise increased his respect for them. Thus he writes in 1834:—

"Imprimis, as to ———'s friend, Jewell. He calls the mass 'your cursed paltrie service;' laughs at the apostolical succession, both in principle and as a fact; and says that the only succession worth having is the succession of doctrine.* He most distinctly denies the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a means of grace, as distinguished from a pledge, calling it a 'phantasie of Mr. Harding's.'† He says, the only keys of the kingdom of heaven are *instruction* and *correction*,‡ and the only way they open the kingdom is by touching men's consciences; that binding and retaining is preaching that 'God will punish wickedness;' loosing and remitting, that 'God will pardon, on repentance and faith;'‖

* Def. of Apol. pp. 120, 123, 139, ed. 1611. † Ib. p. 208.
‡ Ib. 149, 153. ‖ Ib. 151.

justifies Calvin for saying, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper 'were superfluous,' if we remembered Christ's death enough without it;* ridicules the consecration of the elements, and indirectly explains that the way the body and blood are verily received, is that they are *received into our remembrance.*† I have got chapter and verse for all this, and would send you my extracts, if it was not too much trouble to copy them out. Certainly the Council of Trent had no fair chance of getting at the truth, if they saw no alternative between transubstantiation and Jewellism."—P. 330.

This was in January; in October, his dislike of the godly work of reformation, and its authors, had manifestly increased. For he writes concerning them as follows:—

"As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreverent dissenter. His 'Defence of his Apology' disgusted me more than almost any work I have read. Bishop Hickes and Dr. Brett I see go all lengths with me in this respect, and I believe Laud did. The preface to the *Thirty-nine Articles* was certainly intended to disconnect us from the Reformers."—P. 379.

The following is two months later:—

"When I get your letter, I expect a rowing for my Roman Catholic sentiments. Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalist spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelations. I have a theory about the beast and woman too which conflicts with yours; but I will not inflict it on you now. I have written nothing for a long time, and only read in a desultory, lounging way; but really it is not out of idleness, for I find that the less I do, the better I am; and so, on principle, resist doing a good deal that I am tempted to."—P. 389.

* Def. of Apol. pp. 152, 155. † Ib. 210, 212.

The subjoined extract will prove his opinion of the worthies in whose honor his own university has been proposing to erect a church.*

"Also, why do you praise Ridley?" [in the *Tracts for the Times*, we presume when he receives the epithet of the *cautious*, in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist.] "Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? N. B. How beautifully the *Edinburg Review* has shown up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has possessed them to do our dirty work? *Pour moi*, I never mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy Eucharist 'the Lord's Supper;' nor God's priests 'ministers of the word;' or the altar 'the Lord's table,' etc. etc.; innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on many occasions. Nor shall I even abuse the Roman Catholics, *as a Church*, for anything, except excommunicating us."—P. 394.

In order to measure the progress which his mind had made in justly appreciating the characters of the Fathers of the Reformation, we may go back to an earlier period than any from which we have quoted, and see the cautious and measured language in which he thought it right to speak of them. The following is from a letter dated Jan. 29, 1832:—

"I have been very idle lately; but have taken up Strype now and then, and have not increased my admiration of the Reformers. *One must not speak lightly of a martyr; so I do not allow my opinions to pass the verge of scepticism.* But I really do feel sceptical whether Latimer was not something in the Bulteel line; whether the Catholicism of their for-

* [As "a martyrs' memorial."]

mulæ was not a concession to the feelings of the nation, with whom Puritanism had not yet become popular, and who could scarcely bear the alterations which were made; and whether the progress of things in Edward the Sixth's minority may not be considered as the jobbing of a faction. *I will do myself the justice to say, that those doubts give me pain, and that I hope more reading will in some degree dispel them.* As far as I have gone, too, I think better than I was prepared to do of Bonner and Gardiner. Certainly the ἦθος of the Reformation is to me a *terra incognita;* and I do not think that it has been explored by any one that I have heard talk about it."—P. 251.

We have already seen how far subsequent reading was from dispelling these innocent doubts concerning those men, and how very much more daring his language became, when speaking of such *martyrs*.

With the growing dislike, or rather hatred, of the Reformation and its authors, we trace an increasing approach to Catholic truths and practices. General expressions to this effect will be found in the passages already quoted. We may contrast with his sentiments respecting the Reformers, his judgment of one of their great opponents: "The person whom I like best of all I have read about, is Cardinal Pole. He seems a hero of an ideal world; an union of chivalrous and Catholic feeling, like one hopes to find people, before one reads about them" (p. 254). The following passage will show how disposed he had become, in 1834, to judge favorably of Catholic practices, even when not clearly discoverable in the writings of the early

ages, and to cast the burthen of disproving them upon others, rather than call on us for evidence.

"You will be shocked at my avowal, that I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation. It seems to me plain, that, in all matters that seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should conform our practices to those of the Church which has preserved its traditionary practices unbroken. We cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice of the Church of Rome, that it is not a development of the apostolic ἦθος; and it is to no purpose to say that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the six first centuries; they must find a *dis*proof, if they would do anything."—P. 336.

It may be well, however, to examine the progress of his views on specific subjects. And first as to the Blessed Eucharist. We find him early desirous of going beyond the timid phraseology of his party, and attributing to the priesthood such power as the Catholic Church alone claims. The following is in 1833:—

Sept. 16. —— has sent me your reso'utions for our association, which I think excellent, only I should like to know why you flinch from saying that the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested in the successors of the Apostles: it seems to me much simpler, and less open to cavil, than 'continuance, and due application of the sacrament.'"—P. 261.

In another place he supports the use of this phraseology, as applied to the Blessed Sacrament, from the words of Bishop Bull, who writes: "We are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by and upon the consecration of them, do become,

and *are made*, the body and blood of Christ" (p. 363). In 1835, he condemns what he calls the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist in strong terms. These are his words:—

"I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; and think that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even Socinianism."—P. 391.

Still more, writing to the author of the *Christian Year*, he blames him for denying that Christ is in the hands of the priest or receiver, as well as in his heart.

"Next as to the Christian year. In the [hymn for the] fifth of November . . . . . 'there present in the heart, not in the hands,' etc. How can we possibly know that it is true to say, 'not in the hands?' Also, [in the hymn] on the Communion . . . . . you seem cramped by Protestantism."—P. 403.

These passages show how far prepared he was to outstrip his friends in approximation to Catholic doctrines and Catholic expressions. For when once it is conceded that by the words of consecration bread and wine *are made* the body and blood of Christ; and that, in such sort, as that not only is the body present when received, but that it may be actually said to be in the hand of one who holds the sacred species; very little indeed, beyond the acceptance of fitting forms of expression, and terms to embody these doctrines, is wanting for the complete assent to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. To these passages we may add other

two, in which the Liturgy, or Mass, is spoken of. The first occurs in p. 366, where he says that the Liturgies "are a death-blow to Protestantism, if Palmer is right about their antiquity and independence." The other shows still more clearly his judgment of the Mass, and of the somewhat disparaging manner in which it had been mentioned by his friends. Speaking of some one in Barbadoes, he says:—

"For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister; but Perceval conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe that he would now gladly consent to see our communion service replaced by a good translation of the liturgy of St. Peter; a name which I advise you to substitute, in your notes to,—— for the obnoxious phrase 'mass-book.'"*—P. 387.

The state of celibacy, and with it the monastic life, seems also to have been an object of his admiration. "It has lately come into my head," he writes, "that the present state of things in England makes an opening for reviving the monastic system. I think of putting the view forward under the title of *Project for reviving Religion in great Towns*. Certainly colleges of unmarried priests (who might, of course, retire to a living, when they could and liked) would be the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the

* Mr. Froude seems to have had a practical, no less than a theoretical, admiration of the Breviary; as appears from the request in one of his letters, that his friends would send him out to Barbadoes "the parts *autumnalis* and *hyemalis* of his Breviary."—P. 365.

wants of a large population. . . . I must go about the country, to look for the stray sheep of the true fold; there are many about, I am sure; only that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzards" (p. 323). Would that these sentiments had been expressed by a Catholic, in whose mouth they would have had more consistency and promise! If an Anglican think that England is ripe for the diffusion of the monastic institute, and believe it to be the most efficacious means for reviving religion, how much more may we be allowed to think the same, with whom that mode of life is not an experiment, but a well-tried and already organized system. But, in the latter part of his scheme, we see nothing but what has a thousand times crossed our minds, and been a subject of our earnest desires and meditations. A central college, or community of priests (the distinctive of *unmarried* is unnecessary with us), bound together no longer than health, inclination, or other circumstances, permitted them; living together under a mild but steady rule; who should extend their labors over the whole country; appears to us the most effectual means for diffusing our holy religion where it is not yet well known, and animating it to greater fervor where it is professed. The institute which best embraces all our ideas upon this matter is the *Oratorio* of St. Philip Neri, which both in Italy and in France has produced so many men eminent for zeal, learning, and apostolic spirit. In this institute, secular clergy live

together without any bond besides that of voluntary aggregation, and devote themselves to the various duties of preaching and instructing.* It seems to possess all the advantages of the admirable institution of St. Vincent of Paul, without those severer restraints and irrevocable engagements which may deter many from joining it.

* [When this was written, I little thought how soon the desire expressed would be satisfied. In p. 307 of the *Remains*, will be found an account of what remains marked, with gratitude in my mind, as an epoch in my life,—the visit which Mr. Froude unexpectedly paid me, in company with one, who never afterwards departed from my thoughts, and whose eloquent pleadings for the faith have endeared him to every Catholic heart. For many years it had been a promise of my affection to St. Philip, that I would endeavor, should opportunity be afforded me, to introduce his beautiful Institute into England. But little could I foresee, that when I received that most welcome visit, I was in company with its future founder. From that hour, however, I watched with intense interest and love the movement of which I then caught the first glimpse. My studies changed their course, the bent of my mind was altered, in the strong desire to co-operate with the new mercies of Providence. It is a consolation, amid anxieties and misunderstandings elsewhere, to look back to that first thought of hope and expectancy, and to feel that, on the one hand, it was not misplaced, and, on the other, that it never after departed, varied, or wavered. Tried, and painfully, it may have been; but even shaken my humble confidence never was. And when I felt rewarded, my early promise was not forgotten: and I record it, in gratitude and not for glory, that, without violence or forwardness, my feelings respecting the modern "Apostle of Rome," led possibly to the first suggestion of what was soon spontaneously adopted, the introduction of the Oratory into England.]

We utter not only our individual convictions, but the expressed opinion of many, more experienced in the missionary life, and the judgment of long attention to results attained, when we say that no greater blessing could be granted us than a body of priests devoted to the task of going from town to town, relieving the overworked local clergy of part of their labors, by giving well-prepared and systematic courses of instruction, and arousing the slumbering energies of congregations, in which stronger excitement is required than the voice of ordinary admonition. By this means, we have no doubt that many stray sheep would be brought back to the true fold, and "that odious Protestantism," which "sticks in people's gizzards," be thence salubriously extracted. In France, the saintly American Bishop Fluget has been visiting several dioceses to preach in favor of the *Œuvre de la Propagation:* and, though his tour has been limited, we have it on authority, that it will have had the effect of raising the funds of that beautiful institution from seven hundred thousand to upwards of a million of francs. We have also reason to know that he is bent upon having such a system as we have suggested, of movable missionaries, established in America, as the only means of propagating the Catholic religion on a great scale. In fact, it is the true *Apostolic* method, first taught by our Lord, when he sent his seventy-two before His face, during His own lifetime, and afterwards deputed the twelve to the nations of

earth; and subsequently practiced by all those who, imitating their example, and copying their virtues, have gone forth to preach the Gospel to those that sit in darkness. It was the plan pursued in our regard, not only to rescue our Saxon fathers from paganism, but, what is still more in point, for undeceiving the earlier Christians as to the errors of Pelagianism. Difficulties, some suggested by timidity, others by prudence, may, we are aware, be raised against this proposal. Some will fear fanaticism, or excessive zeal; but this will be easily prevented by wholesome regulation, authoritative control, and, still more, by a system of training and preparation, that shall act on the feelings and mind, as well as on the outward forms to be observed. Others will say, where are the instruments, and the means, for such an undertaking? the individuals who will dedicate themselves to the laborious, self-denying duties it will impose, and the funds requisite for conducting it? We answer, let but the word be given, by the authority under whose guidance it must be ever carried on,—let an accordant plan be concerted, giving to all the benefit of such an institution,—and we will engage that no difficulties will be incurred on any of these grounds. There is abundance of zeal and activity in the Catholic body, and especially among its clergy, to insure success to any plan, based upon experience and approved methods, for propagating truth, and combating error. While the Anglicans would have every-

thing to prepare, and even to design, before they could set on foot such a system as Mr. Froude proposes, we *have* much already in train, and should require but little for immediate execution. It would even appear that the Mendicant orders were the favorite scheme of Mr. Froude and his friends.* We defy Protestantism to institute or support them.

We come now to the great doctrine of the *Tracts for the Times*,—ecclesiastical authority, in matters both of jurisdiction and of teaching; and it will be easy to show how evidently dissatisfied Mr. Froude was, with the principles and arguments of his party, and what he thought of the inconsistency of staying where they were, and of the logical extension which their arguments would naturally bear. In 1834, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newman:—

"Does not the archbishop of Canterbury claim patriarchal authority (*qualem qualem*) over as large a portion of the globe as ever the bishop of Rome did? and are not the colonial bishops just as much exonerated from their oath of canonical obedience, by proving that there is no universal bishop recognized in Scripture, as ever Cranmer was?"—Pp. 339, 340.

This is certainly a just argument, retorted upon his friends. The Archbishop of Canterbury

* "Your old project about the Mendicant Orders was the sort of thing; though, perhaps, something connected with later times would tell more, just at present" (p. 397). See also, on celibacy and religious orders, the same page (another letter), and p. 408.

considers himself the primate of the East and West Indian Churches, as well as those of our North American colonies. The arguments whereby the Reformers justified their separation from Rome, would as well disprove this assumed superiority. Our next quotation must be a long one; it is from a letter to Mr. Keble, written in 1835, just a year after the former, and objects to the reasoning of the tracts respecting the Anglican claims to authority in their church. It will require no commentary from us:—

"And first, I shall attack you for the expression, 'the Church teaches so and so,' which I observe is in the Tract equivalent to 'the Prayer-Book, etc., teaches us so and so.' Now suppose a conscientious layman to inquire on what grounds the Prayer-Book, etc., are called the teaching of the Church, how shall we answer him? Shall we tell him that they are embodied in an act of parliament? So is the Spoliation Bill. Shall we tell him that they were formerly enacted by convocation in the reign of Charles II.? But what especial claim had this convocation. etc., to monopolize the name and authority of the Church? Shall we tell him that all the clergy assented to them ever since their enactment? But to what interpretation of them have all, or even the major part, of the clergy assented? For if it is the assent of the clergy that makes the Prayer-Book, etc., the teaching of the Church, the Church teaches only that interpretation of them to which all, or at least the majority of the clergy, have assented; and, in order to ascertain this, it will be necessary to inquire, not for what may seem to the inquirer to be their real meaning, but for the meaning which the majority of the clergy have, in fact, attached to them. It will be necessary to poll the Hoadleians, Puritans, and Laudians, and to be determined by most votes. Again, supposing him to have ascertained these, another question

occurs: Why is the opinion of the English clergy, since the enactment of the Prayer-Book, entitled to be called the teaching of the Church, more than that of the clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, than the clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, etc. etc.? I can see no other [*sic*] claim which the Prayer-Book has on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. I know you will snub me for this, and put in lots of ἐνστάσεις, some of which I could anticipate and answer; but it would take too much room, and I dare say you can augur the answers as well as I can the objections.

"Next, the Tracts tell a great deal about the clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely, no teaching nowadays is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was, except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean, that if his lordship of ——— taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? or do you give the preference to ordained persons, *cæteris paribus?* The former assertion would be startling; the latter does not come to much."—Pp. 401—403.

"And now I will have another go at you, about your rule of faith in *fundamentals*. This is a supposed dialogue between you and the A.

"*Romanist.* I maintain that the doctrine of the Eucharist is a fundamental.—*You.* I deny it.—*R.* Why?—*You.* Because it cannot be proved from Scripture.—*R.* Supposing it granted, do you think that no doctrine is fundamental, which cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You.* Yes.—*R.* Supposing I can show that the early Christians (say of the

second and third centuries) regarded the doctrine of the Eucharist as fundamental, should you still say that it was not so, because it cannot be proved from Scripture?—*You* No; in that case I should admit that it was fundamental; but you cannot show it.—*R.* Then you admit your real reason for denying that this doctrine is fundamental, is not that it is not proved from Scripture, but that it was not held such by the early Christians.—*You.* My reason for denying that it is fundamental, is, that it is not proved from Scripture.—*R.* But, in spite of this reason, you would think it fundamental, if the Fathers thought so; that is, you admit your own reason to be inconclusive: that even after you had shown that it cannot be proved from Scripture, you would also have to show that the Fathers did not think it fundamental.—*You.* I admit this; but still adhere to my original proposition.—*R.* You have admitted that it is not enough to show that a doctrine *cannot* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove it *not* fundamental. Do you think it enough to show that it *can* be proved from Scripture, in order to prove that it *is* fundamental?—*You.* No; I do not think that.—*R.* Then you have proposed, as a test of fundamentality, one which, being answered, does not prove doctrines fundamental, and not answered, does not prove them not so.

"I will not write any more about this, as I suspect you will skip."—Pp. 417, 418.

A few days later, he reverts to the subject, in writing to the same friend; for he asks (July 30):—"What does the article mean by 'doctrines necessary to salvation?' No doctrine is necessary to salvation, to those who have not rejected it wilfully; and to those that do reject wilfully, every true doctrine is necessary to salvation." (p. 419). Two months after this, he returns to his former controversy, and evidently shows his sense of the insufficiency of the grounds on which he and his

friends stood, regarding authority; for, Sept. 3, he writes thus.—

"As to our controversies, you are now taking fresh ground, without owning, as you ought, that on our first basis I dished you. Of course, if the Fathers maintain 'that nothing not deducible from Scripture ought to be insisted on as terms of communion,' I have nothing more to say. But again, if you allow tradition an interpretative authority, I cannot see what is gained. For surely the doctrines of the priesthood and the Eucharist may be proved from Scripture, interpreted by tradition; and if so, what is to hinder our insisting on them as terms of communion? I don't mean, of course, that this will bear out the Romanists, which is, perhaps, your only point; but it certainly would bear out our *party* in excommunicating Protestants."—Pp. 419, 420.

It is evident that his mind was busily engaged with this most important topic; and that every day showed him more and more the perplexity of the views taken by his colleagues, and the necessity of coming to a clearer understanding, than they had, of the extent of their principles, which, pushed one step farther, would be driven into Catholicity. A letter written to another correspondent, in November following, is evidence of this.

"*Nov.* 27——I have been over and over again N[ewman]'s arguments from the Fathers, that tradition, in order to be authoritative, must be in form interpretive, and can get no farther than that it is a convenient reason for [the Church's] tolerating the (I forget which) article. No reason why the Apostles should have confined their oral teaching to comments on Scripture, seems apparent; and why their oral teaching should have been more likely to be corrupted, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.*"—P. 423.

His Mortal course was now, however, drawing to a close; but the last fragment published of his, attests how anxiously, how candidly, and how powerfully, his mind was at work with this great subject,—the hinge on which the differences between us and these new divines may be justly said to turn. This piece is a letter, dated Jan. 27, 1836, a month before his death; and as his last illness was of some weeks' duration, this document may be considered as his theological will and testament, the last declaration of his yet unbroken mind. It will clearly prove how far he had advanced beyond his fellows towards the boundary-line of Catholic truth. In order the better to understand it, we must recall to our readers' attention our former article in No X, on the *Tracts for the Times*, in which we examined the very passages alluded to in the following extract, which had not then come under our observation. We there cited the very example, as Mr. Froude does, of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, in proof that the patriarchal rights of churches, even though unjustly acquired, were in course of time respected, and held inviolable. (p. 293).* We also proved the canon of Ephesus, there quoted in defence of the independence of the Anglican Church, to speak only of *new* assumptions of jurisdiction by one

* The passage referred to will be found in the third volume of this edition, page 166.

bishop or patriarch, over sees in which no right had previously been admitted. (p. 295).* The same view we find one of their own most zealous partisans and contributors to have spontaneously taken;—nay, we see him, in the concluding passages of his writings, using severer language to his friend Mr. Newman than we presumed to employ. The following are his words:—

"The other day accidentally put in my way the Tract on *the Apostolic Succession in the English Church;* and it really does seem so very unfair, that I wonder you could, even in the extremity of *οἰκονομία* and *φενακισμὸς* have consented to be a party to it. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as every one knows, was not one 'from the first;' but neighboring churches voluntarily submitted to it in the first instance, and then, by virtue of their oaths, remained its ecclesiastical subjects; and the same argument by which you justify England and Ireland, would justify all those churches in setting up any day for themselves. The obvious meaning of the canon [of Ephesus] is, that patriarchs might not *begin* to exercise authority in churches *hitherto* independent, without their consent."—Pp. 425, 426.

After this, what more can we desire in proof of what we asserted, at the beginning of this article, that these *Remains* prove Mr. Froude's mind to have been gradually discovering more extensive and more accurate views of religious truths and the principles of faith, with such steady and constant growth, as gives us every reason to believe, that longer life alone was wanting for him to have taken the salutary resolve to adopt the conclusions

* [Vol. 3. p. 169.]

of his theories to their fullest legitimate extent? While the writings of the new divines seem to represent these theories as perfectly formed, and their views as quite fixed, the extracts we have just made show them to be but the shifting and unsettled opinions of men, who are yet discovering errors in what they have formerly believed, and seeking farther evidence of what they shall from henceforth hold. Our concluding extract will give fuller evidence of this act; it is a letter to Mr. Newman, dated All Saints' Day, 1835.

"Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of—[against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do?—and I call it uncharitable to an excess. *How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us!* Surely you should reserve 'blasphemous,' 'impious,' etc., for denial of the articles of faith."—P. 422.

With this passage we close Mr. Froude's *Remains*. Peace be to him! is our parting salutation. The hope which an Ambrose expressed for a Valentinian, who died yet a Catechumen, we willingly will hold of him. His ardent desires were with the truth; his heart was not a stranger to its love. He was one, we firmly believe, whom no sordid views, nor fear of men's tongues, would have deterred from avowing his full convictions, and embracing their consequences, had time and opportunity been vouchsafed him for a longer and closer search. He is another instance of that same mysterious Providence, which guided a Grotius

and a Leibnitz to the threshold of truth, but allowed them not the time to step within it, into the hallowed precincts of God's visible Church. *

* We are authorized to correct an error, arising from some misapprehension, which occurs in p. 307. It is in an account of a conference between the author, accompanied by a friend, and the head of a college in Rome. The latter is made to say, that "the doctrine of the mass" was not fixed, but remained indeterminate, till settled at the Council of Trent. This statement is inaccurate, though, no doubt, unintentionally so. The gentleman alluded to never made any such admission, in the sense which it appears to bear in the narrative.

THE CATHOLIC

AND

ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

From the *Dublin Review* for August, 1841.

ART. VIII—1. *Tracts for the Times*, No. 90.

2. *The subject of Tract* 90 *examined.* By the Rev. F. Oakley, M. A.
3. *The Thirty-nine Articles considered as the Standard and Test of the Doctrines of the Church of England.* By G. Faussett, D. D.
4. *A Review of No.* 90 *of the Tracts for the Times.* By the Rev. R. Prettyman, M. A.
5. *A Few Words in support of No.* 90.—*A Few more Words, etc.* (*Appendix*). By the Rev. W. G. Ward, M. A.
6. *Observations suggested by A Few More Words.* By Robert Lowe, Esq.
7. *The Articles treated on in Tract* 90 *considered.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D. D.
8. *Salutary Cautions against the Errors contained in the Oxford Tracts.* A Charge to his Clergy, delivered at St. Nicholas' Church, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Monday, Aug. 9, 1841. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.

THE pamphlets here enumerated are but a small portion of those which have appeared within the last few months, on the subjects discussed in

the eventful Tract No. 90. The Rev. Mr. Prettyman informs us, that between sending his work to press and its publication, twenty-six pamphlets on the subject had been put into his hands. To this extent of acquisition our situation has not allowed us to reach; but we are content with the fact, as evidence of the great interest excited by that Tract; while we take it for granted that the few publications which have reached us contain the pith of the discussion, and present fair specimens of the reasonings and statements of the different sides. We are not going to step between the two, or to attempt the melancholy decision, whether the consciences of many will be best relieved, by subscribing the Articles with the dark conviction, that they are protesting against a church, which they have been taught to believe is, and has been for ages, unscriptural, anti-Christian, idolatrous, and apostatical, and condemning in one sentence its practices and its doctrines,—or by signing them in the thought that, though they may *seem* to be doing all this, and are considered by the great mass of members (perhaps by the rulers) of their church, to do it, yet they in their heart intend it not, because it is possible to interpret these un-Catholic Articles in a Catholic way, by explanations hardly thought of before, perhaps hardly contemplated by some of those who proclaim them when *they* subscribed. We repeat, that we believe this to be a melancholy alternative proposed to future subscribers; and we lament that any should

be placed in it, the more because we see a clear and straightforward way out of the dilemma, and, to our minds, the only one which will save many a youthful heart a pang of remorse;—to refuse subscription. This is a bold proposal; but we must not shrink from it. Let us, however, approach it cautiously.

The purport of Tract No. 90 we suppose our readers in general to be acquainted with. It is to prove, that the Thirty-nine Articles would be, or are, no bar to intercommunion, between the Church of England and at least the Western Church. Every clergyman of the former is obliged to subscribe the Articles,—every one of the latter is pledged to the decisions of the Council of Trent. Ordinarily, these two standards of belief are considered incompatible one with the other; and it has not been understood that the subscribers of the Articles could hold the doctrines of the synod. Mr. Newman endeavors to prove that the Articles had not in view the doctrines of Trent, in what they declared;—first, because they were drawn up anterior to the council; secondly, because their very tenor and wording prove them to be directed against certain abuses prevalent in the Church, which the council itself in part condemned, and in no part approved. This, we believe, is a fair statement of his view; and we are far from regretting that he has taken it. On the contrary, we rejoice at it, for many reasons.

First, because it is an additional proof of the

growing feeling, otherwise perhaps more clearly expressed, that the isolation of the Anglican Church is by no means a consoling, still less a boastful, circumstance.

Secondly, because it indicates an earnest desire to smoothen, if not to remove, the obstacles to restored intercommunion.

Thirdly, because it takes blame for the present state of things, instead of only casting it, as has been the usual practice in treating on these subjects.

Fourthly, because it indicates a practical look towards union with the proper quarter—the West, or Rome—rather than vaguer, perhaps chimerical, projects of gaining strength by an alliance with Russians, Greeks, or Syrian Nestorians.

Fifthly, because earnestness in all these respects is manifested in express proportion to the pains taken, and the ingenuity employed, to bring the Articles into possible harmony with the definitions of Trent.

For these reasons and more, we are glad to see a man like Mr. Newman anxious to disclaim condemnation of our doctrines, and to accustom men to judge them compatible with what they themselves consider (however erroneously) as entitled to reverence. Against the many things which both he, and some of his followers in the controversy, say of us, and of our practices, we own that we are weary of complaining. We are speaking now of the tone, and not of the substance;—the

latter is fair subject of debate, and may be touched upon later (so far at least as shall not trench upon individual pending controversies), but the other we begin to feel that we had best submit to without murmuring. We will say, "Strike, but listen:" there is, thank God, merit in humiliation under injustice (even when unintentional), and we will endeavor to acquire it: there is, on the other hand, danger of irritation, and of being tempted to retort, or answer harshly, if one dwells too earnestly upon such things. Moreover, we have so often protested and gained nothing, so gravely denied and not been allowed credit, so gently entreated and not prevailed, that we must make up our minds to endurance; and if we cannot render our humanity—being but flesh—callous to the stings or lashes directed against us, we will endeavor to protect it by "the shield of that charity," which "beareth all things, and endureth all things," while it "thinketh no evil."*

That Mr. Newman's view of subscription would be variously appreciated, he of course must have foreseen. To many in the Church it has been acceptable as a boon, relieving their minds of a painful burden.

Mr. Ward, whom we quote with satisfaction, both as one who has suffered in consequence of his opinions, and as one whose tone and manner are more congenial to our feelings than many others, —thus opens his first pamphlet:—

* 1 Cor. xiii, 5, 7.

"Acquiescing as I do in the general principles advocated in Tract 90, and deeply grateful to its author for bringing forward in it a view of our formularies, full of comfort to myself and many others with whom I am acquainted, I am induced to say a few words with regard to Mr. Wilson's recently published Letter; not as being unmindful of the great evils to which direct theological controversy, unless great care be used on both sides, is apt to lead, but still considering that in the present case a view of part of our Articles, new in great measure at least to the present generation, will hardly meet with general acceptance till after full and fair discussion, and that those who feel difficulties in that view have a fair claim on those who advocate it, that their objections shall at least be considered."

The novelty of the interpretation proposed by Mr. Newman is here acknowledged, as far as regards at least the present generation of subscribers; and the writer of these lines must have subscribed before that interpretation had appeared. Supposing him, therefore, to be placed in circumstances where resubscription would be required, we may justly conclude that the principles on which he would give it, would be different from those on which he first subscribed. We put not this case personally: we mean to speak of any one to whom Mr. Newman's new view is a source of comfort. If we may be allowed to draw a still further conclusion, we may say that subscription under the other alternative would now be considered by such a person the reverse of comfortable.

On the other hand, it is contended that the proposed construction of the Articles does them violence, is incompatible with straightforward hon-

esty, and contradicts all received modes of interpreting such documents. They ought, therefore, to be taken in their more popular sense; as condemning, that is, not merely some abuses, real or pretended, in the Church of Rome, but the very doctrines which she teaches.

Now, if we have to speak upon this subject, we own that we are somewhat embarrassed by one consideration. If we express ourselves opposed to the first of these views, it may appear as though we wished to cast those who hold it back upon the latter. Nothing, surely, can be further from our minds; for subscription to the Articles in their popular sense, as involving condemnation of our doctrines, we detest and abhor, as condemnation of the true doctrines of God's Church: whereas in subscription under the interpretation, "new to the present generation," we must regret and blame what appears like connivance at such condemnation. Eleazar would not eat lawful meats when dressed up, so that the people might consider them as forbidden; * and we would not have reverend, and learned, and devoutly-minded men, subscribe *un-Catholic* articles, before their people, so as to appear to the world to pledge themselves to un-Catholic doctrines, because, in spite of this outward form, there is a secret overlaid meaning, which will allow the subscriber to understand them in a different sense, not necessarily condemnatory of Catholic doctrines.

* 2 Machab. vi. 25.

Mr. Ward enters perhaps more fully than any other writer upon the question which here naturally meets the inquirer; where is the proper key for opening the true sense of the Articles? where their authoritative explanation? When one person makes oath, or subscribes conditions, or formularies prescribed by another, the ordinary and obvious principle is, that they are taken or subscribed, "juxta animum imponentis," according to the meaning or mind of the party requiring the subscription or oath. In ordinary circumstances of this character, the main point is to discover what is the "animus" or meaning of the "imponens:" who *this* is, usually appears at once. But, in the present case, it is by no means so. The difficulty lies in discovering who it is that enjoins subscription, with a right to be considered the "imponens." Mr. Ward proposes the following hypotheses, mantained by various parties:—

1. Are the original framers, Cranmer and others?

2. Is the convocation of 1571?

3. Or that of 1662?

4. Is the State?

5. Is the existing Church represented by its actual bishops!

To all these claims Mr. Ward answers negatively.

1. It is not the first Reformers, because, "as well might a committee of the House of Commons, who are employed to draw up a bill, be im-

agined to be the 'imponens,' instead of the whole legislative body."—*A Few more Words*, *p.* 8.

2. The convocation of 1571 has no more authority than any other: *e. g.* that of 1662.

3. Nor has this any; because what ceased to exist one hundred and fifty years ago, cannot be considered the present "imponens."

4. As to the State, Mr. Ward rather implies, than expresses a denial, leaving this theory (once, to all appearance, held by Froude) to those who consider the Anglican Church Protestant.

5. Regarding the existing Church, he intimates perplexities and difficulties, whether it be understood that a person signing under this theory, pledge himself positively to whatever the actual bishops may happen to hold (Dr. Hey's shocking system), or that he merely bind himself to teach no interpretation of the Articles, which the existing Church deems inadmissible.—P. 11.

We cannot help thinking, that after this exclusion of the framers, the past Church, the present Church, and the State, from the office of "imponens" of the Articles, when they are actually proposed to a candidate for orders, or any other state requiring subscription, most readers will feel perplexed as to what is assumed to hold that office: and we are tempted to indulge them in the opportunity of conjecturing, feeling pretty sure that they will not easily succeed. In fact, we believe that many will rather descend to particulars from the excluded generals, and suppose that the chancellor

of the university into which subscription gives admission, or the bishop who confers orders, or who inducts into a benefice, may perhaps be considered the "imponens." But while any one, so inclined, indulges in these speculations, we may be allowed, not boastfully but thankfully, to contrast our position under similar circumstances. When a Catholic receives a professorship, or takes a degree, or is consecrated a bishop, and indeed on many other occasions, he recites the Profession of Faith of Pope Pius IV. In this, after the Creed, he asserts his belief of the doctrines defined at Trent, the doctrines supposed to be *not* rejected by the Thirty-Nine Articles. Now, in order to subscribe this formulary "with comfort," we do not suppose that any Catholic, whether in France, Italy, England or Germany, ever thought of inquiring or discussing who was the "imponens," whether the Fathers of the council, or the pope whose name it bears, or the commission who drew it up, or the present Church, general or national, or the bishop who receives it, or any one else. And why? Because he knows that all and every of these different parties, past or present, distant or on the spot, thought and intended one and the same thing: their "animus" was the same; and he would be merely speculating, without benefit, upon a theoretical question, in no way affecting his practical conclusions. Whence comes this? Because, by a principle of unanimity and union, which knits together all times and places, and which he considers exclusively the

characteristic of true *Catholicity*, all these parties *must* believe and think alike.

Now though the visible results in the present Anglican Church be precisely the reverse of all this, as the brief outline which we have given of the theory of the "imponens" must show, Mr. Ward comes to the conclusion that this very spirit of *Catholicity* is the "imponens" of the Articles! The theory sounds to us so startling, so new, so, —shall we speak it?—so awful, that we must give it in his own words, and with his own italics:—

"6. Before doing this, let me beg the reader's careful attention to the following passage from Mr. Newman's Sermons, in which he expresses doctrine held by every Catholic: —'Christ by coming in the flesh provided an external or apparent unity, such as had been under the law. He formed His Apostles into a visible society. But, when He came again in the person of His Spirit, He made them all *in a real sense one*, not in name only. For they were no longer arranged merely in the form of unity, as the limbs of the dead may be, but they were *parts and organs of one unseen power;* they really depended upon, and were off-shoots of that which was One....Christ came not to make us one, but to die for us: the Spirit came to make us one in Him who had died and was alive, *that is*, to form the Church. This then is the special glory of the Christian Church—that its members do not depend merely on what is visible, they are not mere stones of a building piled one on another and bound together from without, but they are one, and all the births and manifestations of one and the same unseen spiritual principle or power, '*living stones,' internally connected as branches from a tree*, not as the parts of a heap.....Before (the Spirit came) God's servants were as the dry bones of the Prophet's vision, connected by profession, not by inward principle; but since they are all the organs as *if of one in-*

visible governing Soul, the hands, or the tongues, or the feet or the eyes *of one and the same directing Mind*..... Such is the Christian Church · a *living* body and *one*, not a mere framework artificially arranged to *look* like one.' *

"Now, in proportion as we realize the full force of this great doctrine, we shall necessarily be compelled to consider every external development of any living branch of Christ's Church, as the language of that Holy Spirit who resides within her. If the expression be not irreverent, the 'imponens' of every statement which she is guided to put forth, *Whose* are really the words which she utters, *Who* quickens the forms which she ordains, is none other than *the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church*. Let it be observed I am not deciding what amount of error a local Church might superadd to the faith without losing her life; much less what amount of *apparent* error she may present to the eye of a superficial observer, the memorial of past sin in her governors, and a heavy bondage restraining her activity and free development. I am saying only so much as this, that if we believe the Church to be the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, and to have been founded for the very purpose of bearing witness to 'the Faith, once (for all) delivered to the Saints' (and if we cease to believe this, we cease to be Catholics), we cannot but interpret every general and ambiguous expression in her formularies in accordance, so far as the wording will allow, with the body of doctrine, which, from the first, the Spirit as by His overruling power He had caused it to be contained as to essentials within the words of Holy Scripture, as also has openly declared through the instrumentality of His organ the Church Catholic. Nor am I at all sure that this is not the fairest statement of the practical way in which the author of the Letter alluded to would look at the subject. It is far indeed, of course, from making of little importance the existing bishops; on the contrary, the formal decision of the successors to the Apostles have, next to the Church's fixed formularies, the strongest claims on us, as the voice of the Holy Ghost. From the lowest to the highest, from the 'Godly admonition' of the

* Vol. iv. Serm. xi.

individual bishop to the private clergyman, up to the authoritative statements of the whole Episcopal Synod, each in its sphere and measure comes with God's delegated authority. Only, if this be the true way of regarding it, as, on the one hand, we interpret all and each of these decisions in the *most Catholic sense which their wording will admit*, so, on the other, we are exempt from the necessity, or duty, of looking for the opinions of individual bishops in any other quarter than in those formal decisions of theirs which may come with authority *to us*. They do *not* speak as organs of the Spirit residing in the Church, unless when they speak formally *as* bishops."—Pp. 11—16.

Before proceeding to examine the more general theory involved in this long but interesting extract, let us say a few words on the concluding passage. "The Godly admonition of the individual bishop, ... in its sphere and measure, comes with God's delegated authority"—it is "the voice of the Holy Ghost:" but for this purpose the bishops must "speak formally as bishops" so to become "the organs of the Spirit residing in the Church." Are we wrong in supposing that a bishop making a charge to his clergy "speaks formally as a bishop?" If not, we would ask, when or how does he so speak, or when does he address the "us" of the text, meaning, we suppose, the clergy subject to him? If he does, then let us turn to the Bishop of Durham's Charge. "And now," it says, ".... I must call your attention to the obligation which rests upon me, *your bishop*, on this our day of solemn meeting, *and to the manner in which you also are bound to act towards me*, who, however unworthily, am called

upon thus personally, *and from this chair of office*, to address you" (p. 3) The bishop, then, is about to speak episcopally, *ex cathedrâ*, as his own words imply. In page 6, his lordship thus speaks:—"Strongly, then, must I repeat my regret, that with nothing like an appearance of stringent necessity, or the prospect of adequate advantage, *the writers of those tracts* should have come forward to disturb the peace of the Church." His condemnation of the doctrines of the Tracts we will not quote; because on every point which Dr. Maltby thinks proper to condemn, our sympathies are with the tract-writers; we believe them to be right, and the "godly admonition" of the bishop to be so wrong, that we should shudder at the very idea of considering it as "the voice of the Spirit" of God, or in any "sphere" or in anv "measure" as having "delegated authority from God." Moreover, when his lordship speaks of a private judgment, if aided by cultivation, "leading the mind to a clearer perception of the truth than all the volumes of all the Fathers, and still more than any dependence that can be placed on the fallacies or sophistries of tradition,"—nay, when he condescends to the use of such expressions as "the stinking puddles of tradition, devised by men's imagination" (p. 8), we consider his teaching as positively heretical in its tendency; and regret so much the more that an amiable and good man like Mr. Ward should have allowed himself to be carried by his enthusiasm, to the

formation of a theory which may compel him either to give such teaching a certain divine authority, or to qualify his theory by new distinctions which may exclude it.

However, here it is: a bishop formally speaking as such from his chair of office, thus addresses his clergy:—"A labored attempt has been made to *explain away the real meaning of our Articles*, and infuse into them a more kindly spirit of accommodation to the opinions and practices of the Church of Rome. Under these circumstances, however painful may be the task of animadverting upon opinions espoused by persons otherwise so respectable, I consider it incumbent upon me *to pronounce my deliberate judgment*" (p. 7).*

We turn now to the main principle laid down by Mr. Ward in the extract we gave above. Perhaps we shall be thought to have employed strong words when we prefaced it: but our painful impressions were thus formed. We had been accustomed to hear the Articles called by Mr. Newman and others a chain and a heavy yoke, a prison

* Mr. Ward has contemplated the course which an individual clergyman might be compelled to pursue, should his bishop condemn the doctrine of the Tracts. "It is, I suppose, considered by some that his lordship [the bishop of Oxford] decided *ex cathedrâ*, that such a mode of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles was inadmissible: the result of which course would be, that those who held preferment in the diocese of Oxford in virtue of subscription to them in such sense, would, to say the least, be in a most painful position, unless they threw up such preferment."—Appendix, p. 13.

(though with Christ, we know not how, for the keeper), as an imperfection, as the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, as inconsistent precedents, as a penalty for sins, as placing the Church in the body of death, etc. Now we own that it appears to us a serious, nay, an awful, thing to consider and declare "*the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church*," to be the "imponens" of things so characterized and described. We know that the writer was far from meaning any irreverence; in fact he expresses his caution on the subject; but to us it sounds painfully. The whole passage to which we more especially allude, the deductions, that is, from Mr. Newman's reasonings, has a boldness that jars with our usual feelings, in giving to the very acknowledged imperfections of the Anglican Church, a divine sanction which Catholics would with diffidence attribute to anything short of what faith or old traditional practice recommends; for the passage does not speak of a mere permissive dispensation of what is afflicting, but a positive exacting of what is so humanly imperfect. We think it certainly a distressing position for a young man, to have to believe all the severe things that he has read lately of the Articles, and yet to subscribe them, with the feelings that they are "the language of that Holy Spirit who resides in the Church," that He is the "imponens" of that "statement which she has been guided to put forth."

But let us further inquire, how far the An-

glican Church can be considered as acting as part of the Catholic Church in the subscription which she requires of the Articles.

The Catholic Church, according to the High-Church theory, is a collection of various churches, such as those in communion with Rome, the Greek, the Anglican, etc. For a declaration to be considered an emanation from this aggregate body, one would naturally expect to find in it conditions which, in some way, connected it with them, or their avowed opinions, and gave it their implicit sanction, if nothing more. The lowest terms whereon one might be disposed to receive it in this high character, would be a tacit approbation of it by the other churches; such as their acknowledging and accepting as brethren those who had adopted it. Perhaps there might be a lower form of reluctant acceptance, to the extent of not excluding those from communion who subscribed to its doctrines. But in the case of the Thirty-nine Articles, not a single church beyond the Anglican has admitted the holders of them to communion, or acknowledged that holding them was compatible with what it believes. In other words, the different churches have kept up a continual protest against the Articles, according to what they have ever heard of their meaning. How then, can it be just to consider as the "imponens" of those Articles, that Catholic Church which, according to the same theory, consists of the union of those very churches?

It will indeed be said, that, till now, the various churches which have withheld communion from the Anglican, on the strength of the doctrines *supposed* to be taught by its Articles, have been mistaken as to the matter of fact, that those Articles contained declarations of doctrine, and pledged all subscribers to hold and maintain them; that consequently there has been an error of judgment, and that the Anglican Church must not be prejudiced thereby, but must be allowed to enumerate her formulary among those which the Catholic Church may admit as containing nothing contrary to her belief. Let us allow this error if we please; let us rejoice with all our hearts that the words of the Articles *may* be interpreted as Mr. Newman proposes (for we are not disputing the possibility of so interpreting them), still it is admitted that they have an uncatholic sound and appearance, that their *prima facie* signification is Protestant, that they are a "Protestant Confession." (Tract, p. 83). And when, in the beginning of their adoption, other churches, upon these grounds, refused to hold communion with their subscribers, no interpretation was ever offered which could lead them to form a different estimate of their substance; so that if an error was committed, it was connived at, or even sanctioned, by the party whose duty it was to correct it. The Anglican Church, by taking no steps to correct the interpretation generally given to her Articles, seemed to acquiesce in it, and acknowledge it

right. The explanations now given will be received with pleasure; but they come not with authority. They show the desire of those who offer them to come into harmony of thought with the Catholic Church; but surely they will not authorize any one to consider this as demanding the subscriptions of Articles, which are "the offspring of an uncatholic age," or of being their "imponens."

Our impression, therefore, is, that an "imponens" of the Articles must be found in some person or some thing, more tangible, and more sensibly in contact with the subscriber, than the Catholic Church, or the Spirit that rules her. If subscription be a condition—perhaps we may say an equivalent for anything else—surely the party complying with the conditions on the other side, or representing the interest yielded, or the advantages conferred, may have some right to be considered in that light. Let us put a case. No one can be admitted into the University of Oxford without subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. The practical consequence of this condition has manifestly been the exclusion of us Catholics from the advantages of that place of education. Several Catholics have obtained admission to Cambridge, none to Oxford; simply because subscription is not required in the former, and is required in the latter. Does not this university, therefore, confer certain benefits and advantages, such as education, etc., under a condition of signing a certain formu-

lary; and has it not a right to be considered as its "imponens" on *that* specific occasion? And if so, has not its interpretation been defined, by that very result of its tendering that formulary, the exclusion of every Catholic who admits the Council of Trent, and its doctrinal definitions? For, will any one be prepared to say, that if a youth, educated in the Catholic faith, were to state openly and candidly to the head of a college at Oxford his belief in transubstantiation, in the devout use of images, in the invocation of saints, and purgatory, as defined by that council, and then ask to be allowed to subscribe, and enter the university, under that interpretation of the Articles which considers them compatible with that belief, he would be admitted? If so, then we have been long unjustly deprived of what we might have enjoyed. If not, it must be concluded that the university claims the right of being at once the "imponens," and the interpreter, of the Articles.

We feel ourselves, however unwillingly, compelled to think that, consoling as the new views of the Articles may be to our feelings, they cannot justify subscription so long as the subscribers are *supposed* to bind themselves to an interpretation of them incompatible with what is held by Catholics. The time may indeed arrive, when Mr. Newman's explanations will become generally received in his church, and be authorized by its rulers, or at least accepted by them; and then the case will be altered. A further and a better step

will not be distant when that time comes. Men will easily get rid of a thing which *all* agree in considering a burthen. But for the distressing position of many, in the meantime, we cannot help feeling, because we sincerely do not believe the proposed remedy effectual.

We are aware of the almost necessary consequences of any one's shrinking, with High-Church principles, from subscription under actual circumstances. He would be led to seek comfort in the bosom of the Church Catholic. To this step objections have been raised of a varied character, which we feel ourselves called upon to notice. Throughout the controversy on Tract 90, the Catholic Church has been severely spoken of, as corrupt, nay, as idolatrous, for a twofold purpose. First, the charge was made, in order to justify the Articles in their supposed condemnation of certain practices attributed to us. Then the same objection was repeated for the purpose of justifying separation from us. The groundwork of both views is the same, the point of vision alone varies; the second is to us more interesting. It has been urged in a special manner, in an article in the last *British Critic*,—an article which, in many other respects, has pleased us, and in none more than this, that it candidly acknowledges a grievous disorder in the state of the Anglican Church, to which it wishes to place the charge against us as a set-off. The author of this remarkable article on "Private Judgment," allows that the isolation of

the Anglican Church gives her a strong and painful appearance of schism. But if this tend to drive persons from her communion, they are met, he thinks, by such an appearance of idolatry, that they are once more driven back, and kept where they were. "If," he observes, "the note of schism on the one hand lies against England, an antagonist disgrace lies upon Rome,—the note of idolatry. Let us not be mistaken here; we are neither accusing Rome of idolatry, nor ourselves of schism; we think neither charge tenable; but still the Roman Church practices what is so like idolatry, and the English Church makes much of what is so very like schism, that without deciding what is the duty of a Roman Catholic towards the Church of England in her present state, we do seriously think that members of the English Church have a providential direction given them, how to comport themselves towards the Church of Rome, while she is what she is" (p. 123).

The reviewer collects his proofs from various sources—from Mr. Palmer, Mr. Ward, and Dr. Pusey. We will call our reader's attention to the more popular and striking illustrations or proofs selected by Dr. Pusey, of the idolatrous, or superstitious, or corrupt practices of the Roman Church. We believe that acts generally convince more than words; and, moreover, they are more easily remembered. Hence a reader of Dr. Pusey's pamphlet will far more easily retain, and more happily employ, in conversation, some of the

wonderful stories which he has gathered together, and seriously set down as proof of no less a charge than idolatry, against *the* Apostolic Church, than he will a passage from St. Alphonsus Liguori. In pages 161 to 164 we have many such examples, the principal of which we will briefly notice.

We are there told of pictures which, carried in procession, stopped the plague and averted the cholera. That God *may* have made use of a pious representation for such a purpose, seems no more impossible than that by a brazen serpent looked upon, He should have stopped the plague of fiery serpents: whether He has done so in individual cases, must depend upon historical evidence. Only let us not overlook the fervor of supplication, the uplifted hands and hearts of thousands, who make up the procession in those cases,—the strong cry and tears which issue from the crowds of suppliants (we speak experienced) that go before and behind, nay, the prayers of the Church and its ministers who attend it; and if, when these have been all set in action, whether by a representation of Christ or his Blessed Mother, or by the words of a living saint, violence is done to heaven, and the prayers of God's people are heard, let us not quarrel with names, and be astonished if men pay reverence to that which called forth the fervor of their prayers, by forming a rallying-point to their united supplications; nay, if they thus symbolize and express their feeling, that Her prayers, whose image they accompanied, rather than their own,

obtained for them what they asked. For, we suppose, no one ever imagined, that when wonderful effects of this sort are attributed to any pictures of saints carried in procession, they are to be considered apart from the feelings which they excite, and the prayers that accompany them. The same is to be said of the image of our Saviour as an infant, with which a priest blesses the people, under the pious belief, whether grounded or not we have no means of pronouncing, that it has pleased God to use it as an instrument of miracles, as he has done on so many occasions, with other material objects. For our present purpose, it is sufficient that this persuasion should be sincere, even if mistaken; and that it is such we have every reason to judge.

The liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood comes next in Dr. Pusey's catalogue; and to it we only append our full conviction that there is no juggling, no deceit in that interesting occurrence. This is the lowest estimate which any well-informed Catholic would make of it: our own inquiries into it, by every means in our power (and they have been tolerably extensive), have long since satisfied us, in common with many others, that it is a true miraculous manifestation of God's power. Dr. Pusey fearlessly calls it "an imposture."

We now come to proof of tolerated superstition, which we could hardly trust our eyes in reading, in a work by so cautious and so learned a man as Dr. Pusey. It is related in the following words:

—"In another church (at Naples) is a waxen figure of our Lord as an infant, to which the king and the court make an annual procession at Christmas, the king carrying scissors to cut the hair of the image, which, it is asserted, grows miraculously every year." By way of voucher for this precious statement, we have in a note,—"Statement of a traveller!" "Ab uno disce omnes." The Church of Rome and the Catholic Church in communion with it, are to be pronounced idolatrous upon the anonymous statement of a traveller. Upon reading this account, we lost no time in making inquiries respecting—not its truth (for of that we never dreamt)—but its origin. We thought it possible that some ceremony or practice in itself innocent, might have been distorted, by Protestant ingenuity, into a superstitious observance, or rather a wicked imposture. For we had long been accustomed to very curious and often amusing mistakes of this character in the "statements of travellers." And though we have a shrewd guess who the traveller is on whom Dr. Pusey so much relies, and believe him to be a person incapable of wilful mis-statements, we must be allowed to attribute to him the usual faults of such well-intentioned travellers as are on the lookout for whatever can justify a condemnation of Rome. In this case we have inquired from persons for many years resident at Naples, and moving in the circle of the court, whether they have ever heard of this its annual practice, or of the miraculous "Bambino;"

and have been met only by expressions of surprise and astonishment at the tale. As one of the persons to whom we applied has expressly authorized us to make use of his statement, we will offer no apology for presenting our readers with the greater part of his letter. As he sufficiently describes himself to enable them to judge of his opportunities for accurate information, we will venture to consider him a better authority than the mere anonymous "traveller;" and we are sure that the honest warmth and indignation which he manifests, will be attributed to its proper motive—regret, that one for whom we know that he entertains a personal regard, should have lent himself to the propagation of a calumnious charge against so large a body of fellow-Christians.

The following is his letter:—

August 9, 1841.

"I have been surprised and painfully impressed by Dr. Pusey's assertion, given on 'the statement of a traveller,' with reference to the miraculous growth of hair, etc.; and I can only add that I have passed several festivals of the Nativity at Naples, and never heard of such a ceremony as that described by Dr. Pusey; for *his* description it is, until he chooses to publish the name of his 'traveller.'

"I have lived a good deal at Naples, both as a Protestant and as a Catholic. As a Protestant, I was in the habit of meeting *so* many of our countrymen of that creed ready to attend any 'funzione' (particularly if it offered the double attraction to them of contemplating royalty, and witnessing so satisfactory a proof as this would have been of *Popish superstition*), that I cannot suppose for a moment I should not have heard of such a ceremony, if it had existed.

"Belonging to the British legation, I was constantly ap-

plied to by travellers to assist them in visiting ceremonies and sights of all kinds: and I can only call to mind the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, as a regular miraculous ceremony attended by the king, and that only once, though the liquefaction occurs twice in the year.

"As a Catholic, I frequented at Naples most of the ceremonies which were likely to inspire me with any fresh admiration for the splendid beauties of the religion I had embraced, and moreover enjoyed the blessings of belonging to a family, the principal members of which were not likely to remain ignorant of *any* ceremony of the importance which would necessarily attach to one of the nature of that mentioned by Dr. Pusey; but I repeat, I never heard of anything of the kind.

"You are aware that at Christmas the churches at Naples are in the habit of being beautifully decorated, in compliance with the devotional fervor of the Neapolitan peasantry; and generally a 'presepio' is exhibited, containing a figure, representing our new-born Saviour. The parish church of the royal palace, San Fernando, is famous for the splendor of its ornaments on this occasion; and I have some recollection that the king does, at this season, pay his devotions at the chapel of San Fernando, which contains the 'presepio;' but for the growing hair and the royal scissors, I cannot help thinking that Dr. Pusey will discover that he has been the dupe of some imaginative Protestant traveller, whose 'wish was father' to the hair-cutting part of the story, which he has trumped up because he could not, by sticking to the unvarnished truth, discern much idolatry or superstition in a mere visit to, and a prayer before, a figurative cradle, performed by a king in pious commemoration perhaps of the adoration of the Child of Bethlehem by the wise men of the East, who tradition teaches us were also kings.

"I had hoped, on witnessing the extent of Catholic belief to which Dr. Pusey and ——— had arrived, by dint of good faith united to deep and honest research, that a termination had been made at last to the innumerable calumnies and childish statements heaped upon us by 'travellers,' and never ex-

pected to find them received by either of the above-mentioned learned divines.....

"Allow me to say, I consider that absurdity quite upon a par, as far as argument goes, with the lengthened quotations from *one* work of St. Alphonsus de Liguori, which Dr. Pusey has given to prove that a popular system among Roman Catholics is to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity. By only taking into consideration this *one* work, *The Glories of Mary*, destined to illustrate and excite to *one* point of Catholic devotion *only*, Dr. Pusey naturally conveys the idea to those among his readers who may not be conversant with the Saint's innumerable treatises on other points of Catholic doctrine, that in the devotion to the Blessed Virgin consists the corner stone, the alpha and the omega, of the Roman Catholic religion. Would it not have been fairer to make some mention at least of the *Practice of the Love of Jesus Christ*, and *Meditations on the Passion of our Lord*, by the same saintly author? No! by so doing, proof would be afforded that ours was the religion of Jesus Christ: that, whatever veneration and love may be recommended to be nourished towards the Blessed Mother, yet the Son was the aim of our devotion, the object of our adoration, and the only source of blessings now, and of salvation hereafter. This avowal would show that the doctrines of the Church of Rome had remained unaltered; whereas it must be proved, if possible, that Oxford, not Rome, is the centre of the true religion,—and that Rome must go back, not Oxford *go over*. By his mode of argument with reference to the *Glories of Mary*, Dr. Pusey, by quoting the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Augustine's *Soliloquia* to persons unacquainted with the general context of the works of that Father, might prove that Roman Catholics were all predestinarians.

"But I close my letter....and shall only add, that although I do not wish you to imitate Dr. Pusey's readiness to avail himself of 'a traveller's statement,' by contradicting him by means of mine, yet you are at liberty, until you can obtain more direct and official proof from Naples, to make what use you please of my recollections of the religious cere-

monies of that city,—to deny that such a miracle as the growth of a doll's hair, trimmed annually by the royal hand, is attempted to be palmed either upon the upper classes of the Neapolitan metropolis, remarkable for their cleverness and good sense, or upon the lower ones, who, if less enlightened, are nevertheless blessed with a fervent piety and simplicity of heart,—which last Christian quality, were it possessed by some of our traducers, would do more towards bringing about a union in the Church of Christ, than will all the volumes of controversy they may write for centuries to come."

So much for Naples: now let us return to Rome. "At Rome," continues Dr. Pusey, "is an image of the Virgin, which on one day of the year nods her head when she grants prayers: the church is thronged to see it." Here we have no authority: Dr. Pusey of course holds himself responsible for the statement. There is a little work published annually at Rome, under the title of *Diario Sacro*,—being a diary of all the functions and sacred observances of every church and chapel in the city. For years we have been in the habit of consulting it day by day, to discover what was to be visited, as either curious or devout. But, strange to say, we never happened to light on the day in which this annual exhibition takes place. Yet, if the church in which it occurs be thronged to see it, it must be very public and notorious, and not concealed from any one's eye. However, it would be easy, and certainly far more satisfactory, for Dr. Pusey to give the name of the church, and the day of the year, in which this singular occurrence takes place; that so we may have better

means of verifying his statement. In the mean time, we have no hesitation in giving it a direct contradiction, and expressing our astonishment that he could have admitted such an account into his pages.

As we proceed with Dr. Pusey's "statements," heaped up together from all manner of sources, we literally lose our breath, so mingled with pain and astonishment, and almost indignation, is the perusal of every sentence. With the exception of one writer, the author of the celebrated articles on "Romanism," in the *Quarterly*, we never met a more fervent and rapid enumeration of false charges, than with melancholy and sickening heart we have found in the latter pages of Dr. Pusey's unhappy pamphlet. Statements of travellers, unvouched-for assertions, the fine arts at Munich, popular proverbs, condemned writings,* vague sayings of nameless persons, the bill of fare of cardinals, "common opinion," and many other such things, are thrown together in heedless confusion, to produce a cumulative impression, an overwhelming, suffocating argument, that shall cover us with shame and dismay. Exeter Hall has now indeed at hand a well-stored armory from which its skirmishers may draw sharp-pointed weapons; and, when asked for their authority for statements that go beyond any they have ventured

* The treatise on the Scapular from which Dr. P. so liberally quotes, was long ago condemned by the archbishop of Dublin.

to advance, they will tauntingly and triumphantly reply,—"Dr. Pusey: who will venture to suspect *him* of advancing such serious charges in such matters, without having fully verified his facts?" At any former assailants stating such things we could afford to smile; his character must excite a very different feeling.

> "Who would but laugh, if such a man there be,
> Who would not weep, if Atticus were he!"

We have not heart, we own it, to go into a detailed examination of all he brings forward. Such a passage as the following completely unmans us. "Amongst us, as (in the main) a moral, earnest people, confession is used as a check to sin; in Italy the obligation to it is made consistent with a state of society generally and openly charged with the grossest profligacy, tempting to it, and in itself almost implying the commission of 'adultery in the heart:' if common opinion be but partially grounded in truth, we must believe that adulterers and adulteresses receive absolution from the priest, and 'return to the vomit,' which they never propose to quit" (p. 169). On reading this passage, our thoughts were at first painfully inclined to think there was too much in it of thanking, that *we* are not "as the rest of men, ... adulterers," etc.; but they soon sought out a more pleasing scene. They beheld One mild and venerable, sinless and spotless, standing face to face with a convicted adulteress, and trusting in present repentance, bidding her "go, and sin no

more."* Whether she "returned to the vomit" or no, it has not been recorded for us—the lesson of mercy and forgiveness was all that was necessary. And, if the Italian priest in his confessional may, through error, or even through over-indulgence, be deceived into pronouncing sentence of forgiveness upon one whose heart is not repentant, and who purposes no amendment, we leave him to His judgment who ever leaned towards tenderness and forgiveness. But that the practice of the confessional there or elsewhere in the Catholic Church is to admit those to absolution whose "purpose" to persevere in sin is known, we must beg leave utterly to deny.

Dr. Pusey proceeds:—"In Rome, which calls itself 'Mater Orbis,' the first bishop of the West presides over a government chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, and yet so corrupt, that it has passed into a proverb, that the sight of Rome is incompatible with faith,—'Roma veduta, fede perduta.'" Experience sometimes gives the lie to proverbs: the number of conversions which take place in Rome, the still greater number of confirmations in, or returnings to, the Catholic faith which there occur, may suffice in the present instance.† More-

* John vii. 11.

† One class alone may suffice to prove this point, that of German artists,—Overbeck, Feith of Frankfort, Roden, Muller of Düsseldorf, the two Rippenhausens, the two Schadows, Knapp, Tierlink, the young Hauser, Keisermann, and many others, might be mentioned. Dr. Pusey, speaking of the

over, proverbs may be made by enemies as well as friends, by the irreverent as well as by the religious. If a foreigner were to say that the Anglican Church is so corrupt, that it has passed into a proverb in the country, that "the nearer the church, the farther from God;" that its ministers are so sordid, as to have given rise to the proverb of "no penny, no pater noster," would any calm reasoner on such subjects admit the force of the argument; and not, at least, inquire whether the friends or foes of the Establishment made and have kept up the proverb? Rome has had its enemies, even such as speak the Italian language: she had them of old in Venice and in Florence; she has them still in all the Italian offspring of French impiety scattered over Europe or yet lurking in fair Italy itself; quite enough to start and to perpetuate proverbs against her. Again, there is an historical or chronological view of popular sayings, which are often handed down, after the circumstances under which they rose have ceased. And so we may allow that the proverb which Dr. Pusey quotes may have been once applicable, without at all admitting its force at present.* As to the Papal government, and the

school of Munich, says,—"In the new school of art in Munich, on the contrary, where religion is in a purer form" [than at Rome], etc. (p. 166). It may be observed that the Munich school is truly Roman. Its leading artists studied in Rome; Cornelius went to Rome to prepare his cartoons for his painting in the Ludwigskirche in Munich.

* A comparison of the proverb with the second Novella

character of the ecclesiastics who compose it at present, we trust that an old proverb will not be considered sufficient to condemn them. Surely the dignitaries of such a Church are not to be pronounced "corrupt" on no better evidence.

Let us proceed. "In Rome, the very day of our Lord's passion (and that during the very hours when he was nailed to the cross for us) is uniformly, amid some outward distinctions of meats, made by cardinals a day of official entertainment, and a feast." Here we have a note, to authorize the charge; it is as follows:—"On Good Friday, Cardinal —— received all the cardinals at dinner at two in the afternoon, with many Englishmen in uniform. The dinner consisted of soup, fish, cutlets, and every variety of dish, all made of fish, but undistinguishable, from the riches of the sauces, from any other dinner. This was annual." (MS. Journal.) We almost blush as we transcribe these words from the book of a grave and learned man, engaged in the solemn attempt to prove a charge of idolatry against the venerable Roman Church. Can it be less than blindness in such a one to overlook the heart-melting commemoration of our Saviour's passion in which those cardinals are engaged day after day, and through

of the Decamerone will probably best prove to what period it owes its origin. There, however, the conclusion drawn is the reverse of Dr. Pusey's. A Jew, finding the conduct of ecclesiastics evil, and seeing that, notwithstanding this, their religion flourishes and increases, is brought to a conviction of its truth, and embraces it.

the entire day; the splendid services with which the Papal court does homage to the season; the kneeling at pilgrims' feet and washing them, in imitation of the divine example; and suppose that they who go through all this would select the very hour of our Lord's passion for a festive meeting and the pleasures of the table? For does not Dr. Pusey's narrative cruelly force one to conclude that the day and hour are chosen expressly, almost in mockery of the day?

Now let us see how the truth stands. The services of Holy Week are performed at the Vatican. They are long, and occupy both morning and afternoon on Thursday and Friday in Holy Week. There is but a short interval between the services, and it has been customary, on those two days, to have two repasts in the palace, one presided over by the secretary of state, the other by the maggiordomo. The first is for the higher, the second for the lower, order of persons engaged in the functions. The cardinal will probably invite foreign ambassadors, and some cardinals; the master of the palace, the gentlemen in waiting, masters of ceremonies, and clerks of the chapel, the officers on duty, and other official persons. Surely thus far seems nothing more than almost a duty: there would hardly be time for those engaged in the offices of the day to go to their homes from that remote quarter of the city, and return. The days are appointed because of necessity, not by choice. Now, as to the dinner. We have our

doubts whether, when a duty of hospitality has to be discharged, it be not in better accordance with the precept "not to appear to men to fast," and to "wash our faces," and not to be, "as the hypocrites, sad," to prepare a table in accordance with the rank, and usages of the society, of your guests, observing the precepts of the Church regarding meats, and leaving it to each one (in that his only meal in the day) to regulate himself as he thinks right; rather than to place before them, what perhaps would be more becoming food at any time for sinners, the dry fare of the anchorite's table. The choice is meagre enough on those days in Rome, —no flesh-meat, nor eggs, nor milk, nor butter, nor cheese; and whatever the sauces may have been, which probably, aided by the novelty of the entertainment to the journalist, seemed very "rich," fish, depend upon it, was the sole substance, and oil the only condiment, of the feast.* But let not the display of their ingenuity by Italian cooks, however misplaced, become a *locus theologicus* in our present controversies.

We are tired of following Dr. Pusey into this

* We have tasted of these supposed feasts (which would almost deserve to be called Thyestian, if given in the spirit which Dr. P. seems to attribute to them), and can safely pronounce, that many of their recondite and fallacious dishes will better suit the *dura messorum ilia*, than those of "English gentlemen in uniform." There are several other secondary errors in Dr. Pusey's account. Formerly the cardinals all dined together semi-publicly; this has long been abolished. Very few, if any, unattached to the palace, dine there at all.

sort of detail; but we have several reasons for doing so. First, we find him particularly cautious about evidence which we adduce. "Romanist citations of the fathers," he says, "require to be sifted." (P. 115, note.) Now from one who thus writes, we have a just demand for authenticity in his facts. And if we are apt to be over-credulous in regard to what we deem manifestations of God's power in favor of His Church triumphant, is it less dangerous to be credulous regarding grievous charges, like idolatry, against His Church militant?—Secondly, we think it right to call attention to the manner in which any evidence is taken up against us, however ungrounded, however trivial, or however painful. We cannot but trust that many minds of a generous cast will be more easily undeceived by exposure of this eagerness to condemn Rome, at almost any rate, than by any controversial discussion. They will look with misgivings upon a position which requires them to charge her with idolatry, and to accept as sufficient, evidence like this. These reasons must plead our apology for what many readers may consider almost solemn trifling; and if we have expressed ourselves warmly it has been more in sorrow than in anger, at seeing the name of one whom we have long honored and esteemed, now set down as a voucher for assertions, which a few months ago would only have come from an opposite direction—from common adversaries.

We cannot better conclude our article, which

though prolonged beyond our original intention, has not touched on some important topics which we had intended to include in it, than in the words of Mr. Ward, with whom we part with feelings of regard and kindness.*

"Many persons are very painfully affected when things are said in favor of the Roman Churches, without protests being also expressed against their corruptions. Now, on the other hand, several persons who fully believe in the existence of those corruptions, dislike this habit of always mentioning them; and this for three reasons:—1. It seems ungracious in a Church so faulty as our own to be continually 'throwing stones' at our neighbors, and seems almost to imply (though Mr. Newman nowhere does imply it) that we consider our own Church purer. 2. It tends to make persons forget the true character and claims of the Roman Church, as being a true Church 'built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets,' as having held up for imitation, certainly more than any other Church of modern times, patterns of evangelical sanctity; and having been, even in her worst time, on most points, a firm and consistent witness in act and word for orthodox doctrine, when in that respect it rather becomes us to imitate than to criticise. 3. It tends to make persons forget, what it is so important that they should remember, our own practical corruptions. Surely the faults of others concern us not so nearly as our own; and national churches, not less than individuals, bear the surest mark of their own condemnation, when they are loud in self-praise. Might not Rev. iii, 17, 18, afford at times a useful lesson to many of us English churchmen?"—*Few More Words*, p. 79.

* We ought to have noticed that in the case of University subscription, Mr. Ward allows the "imponens" of the Articles to be the University. We differ from him in two things therefore:—1. In thinking that the University has declared its "animus" by the practical exclusion of Catholics; 2. In taking the case of the University only as an illustration for deciding, by analogy, who is the "imponens" on other occasions of subscription.—P. 77.

THE

ANGLICAN SYSTEM.

From the *Dublin Review* for February, 1842.

ART. V.—1. *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church of England on the Blessed Eucharist.*

2. *Allegiance to the Church.*—A Sermon, by W. DODSWORTH, M.A.

3. *Some Answer to the Inquiry, Why are you become a Catholic?* By R. W. SIBTHORP, B.D.

4—7. *Bishop of Winchester's, Bishop of Gloucester's, Bishop of Chester's, Bishop of Ripon's Charges,* MDCCCXLI.

8. *The Sufficiency of the Holy Scripture as the Rule of Faith.*—A Sermon, preached at the Cathedral Church of St. John, Calcutta, by DANIEL, Bishop of Calcutta.

9. *A Letter to a Protestant Catholic.* By W. PALMER, M.A.

IT requires a loving eye accurately to scan the signs of the heavens; an eye, that is, which dwells with pleasure upon Nature's face till every slight change that crosses it becomes familiar; which is not indifferent to a momentary cloud that obscures it, nor to the transient gleam that lights it up, nor to the mutual succession of both; which discovers shades of color where others' duller sight has no discernment,—that can distinguish the fiery red

which portends the storm, from the warm glow that shuts up day with an assurance of a brilliant morn,—that can nicely discriminate between the sullen mist that begins a gloomy day, and the morning veil of a cloudless noon. Yet, such an eye will be found in the simple shepherd's head far more probably than in the scholar's; in his who hath walked with nature from the beginning, in her stillest hour and loneliest paths, and hath gazed and pondered with affectionate and unaffected interest upon her wayward but beautiful changes, till every sound has become articulate, and every look significant. But, if One, whose upbraiding is ever fearful, hath said, "Ye hypocrites, ye know then how to discern the face of the heaven and of the earth, but how is it that ye do not discern this time?" or, "the signs of the times?"* who will not study how he may best escape this reproach, in all that regards the symptoms of change, appearing daily in the religious condition of this country? And if so, how may this best be done? We can answer only for ourselves. We pretend to no deep theories upon the opinions afloat in the English Church, or on their causes; we have no skill in unravelling the motives which may actuate individuals. We are constantly perplexed at what we see and hear; we are sometimes amazed, sometimes delighted, sometimes humbled, sometimes dejected. Our fears are often on a sudden relieved, and our sorrow unexpectedly cheered; but then our hopes

* Luke xii. 56; Matt. xvi. 3.

are as often dashed down, and our joy utterly quenched. Now all this does but encourage us. It shows us that we *love*. We cannot perhaps look deeply *into* things, but we can look *at* them affectionately. We are indifferent to nothing that has reference to the present religious crisis, as it is called,—to the *movement*, as one is obliged, unpleasantly, to style it. We take up a new pamphlet with quivering fingers; we turn over the leaves with a fluttering and full heart; our breath thickens as we read, and we are elated or depressed at the author's good pleasure. When we have closed the book, our affections have been sensibly acted upon; were there such an instrument as a *cardiometer* to measure them, it would have risen or fallen certain degrees.

We are willing, therefore, to trust somewhat to this feeling in presuming to exercise judgment upon the signs of the present time. Yes, we love the Church of Christ more, we hope, than nature's warmest admirer can love *her*. The latter is of a sensible, material interest—it is of earth earthly; its skies are darkened by night, and its earth blighted by winter; it is perishable, and the very organ which can contemplate it, will grow dim and be extinguished. But the new heaven and new earth of the Lord's Kingdom upon earth, are imperishable and unfading; His Church is "wonderful in righteousness," like the king's daughter full of inward glory, yet having her golden rai-

ment set forth with rich variety; * hers is a sun that "knoweth no setting;"† hers a blooming spring and a fruitful autumn that feel no winter. She is, moreover, our Mother in the spirit, our nurse, our loving carer and supporter. For all these things do we love her, or rather for one which comprehends them all, that she is loved of God, and has been made all this by him for our sakes. And then she has her trials and vicissitudes. If she have no winter, she hath storms; if by right of inheritance she be rich, by men's injustice she is at times brought low. If she be a mother to all, many will not be her children. And all this makes us only love her the more; and watch with more filial jealousy over her dear interests, and study with tender earnestness her varying aspects and prospects.

Since last we touched upon the principal subject to which the publications at the head of our article more directly point—the position of the Catholic Church with regard to Anglicanism, nothing has come under our notice of a doctrinal character (except, perhaps, the pamphlet on the Blessed Eucharist), at all comparable in interest with previous publications. The controversy on Tract 90 has died away, its author and principal upholders have been silent; even the *British Critic* has offered nothing in the decided tone of

* Ps. xliv. 14.

† "Ille inquam Lucifer qui non novit occasum."—Rom. Liturg. Sab. S.

foregoing numbers. The charges of the bishops have come to our ears like the last distant sound of a tired and now struggling battle, and the remarks on them like but fainter echoes. But new scenes of ardent contest, new fields for serious conflict of principles, have been opened in the national Establishment. The chair of poetry has lately been, like the body of Patroclus, an object of religious contention, not purely for its own sake, but more because of accidental circumstances. The chair of St. James at Jerusalem has most unexpectedly opened another controversy; and both these events are undoubtedly "signs of the times," indices of feelings, forerunners of important results, to which we may have occasion to allude in this article, but which enter not into our principal present scope. For we are disposed rather to deal with more doctrinal matters, and to turn attention to points suggested by reading the various pamphlets before us, and others which have preceded them. The actual pause in theological discussion may be of use, if it allow reflecting minds to weigh certain wants, as they appear to us, in the controversial system of the day, which it would be important to remove.

The principal of these regards the terms in current use, through the Anglican publications of these latter times. There is not a more dangerous cause of error in theological science, than an inaccurate or indefinite terminology. Vague terms beget vague ideas; and vague ideas soon lead to loose-

ness of principle, and incorrectness of reasoning. Men satisfy themselves with a word, or a set phrase, or a commonplace that sounds like an axiom; and by using that, think that they are declaring something definite and certain, and excuse themselves from further inquiries. This is the besetting sin of all our public language. A man talks big about "constitutional principles," "rights of the subject," "the interest of the nation," "the cause of the people," "the public at large;" and is forthwith installed a patriot, and is cheered or chaired as such. Then another gets up, and is no less eloquent on "vested rights," "the prerogatives of the crown," "social interests," "venerable antiquity," "the wisdom of our forefathers," and is possibly hissed and hooted as a declared enemy to all improvement. Have the terms of either been understood? Probably not by one in a thousand of the hearers. Have they been understood by the speakers? Not beyond a certain loose and indefinite impression which the utterance of them makes upon their minds. Why, there is enough in any one of those phrases to set two Blackstones a-wrangling for a month, if commissioned to agree on a definition of it, and a limitation of its true extent and purport. Yet every one understands them all, both speakers and hearers, to the extent of seeing (the former sometimes feeling) the consequences of their use. That is, both know, that, however full of sound and empty of meaning, they are party watch-words; that the use of the first

set proves the speaker a Liberal, that of the second a Conservative. Now woe to all sound theology, if similar party phraseology is admitted into it; woe still more to those who palm it (if maliciously) upon the public mind as a substitute for clear theological ideas; nay, even to those who unwittingly adopt it; for they will soon gather its evil fruit!

Some such danger we have long apprehended, and in part seen. We exclude from the minds of the writers whom we mean, all intentional error; but we do think that they have easily contented themselves with phrases which have a satisfactory theological sound, without sufficient effort to define their import. We think, moreover, that having given a certain currency and hold on the public mind to such phrases, they proceed farther, and build arguments upon them, taking them for lemmas or axioms which no one disputes. In this way, we are convinced that they are often deceived and lead others astray. We think our best course will be, at once to illustrate our meaning by examples. We will take some of these set phrases, and examine them, not indeed learnedly or profoundly, but *pro modulo nostro*, according to our small ability, and as far as we know how, in a popular manner. Our essay may lead others with more leisure, and ability, and learning, to go deeper into the matter, which we consider by no means unimportant. Moreover, we will only try our

hand on a few instances, such as have crossed our eyes, and now cross our minds. We begin with

1. "The *Branch* of the Catholic Church existing in these realms;" "the Anglican *Branch* of the Catholic Church;" "our *Branch* of the Church;"* "our own reformed *Branch* of the Church;"† "the *Branches* of the Church Catholic."‡ In like manner we often read of the "Roman *Branch*" of the Church, and of the Greek or Oriental "*Branch*." In fine, the term *Branch* as applied to a Church, seems completely and indisputably admitted into possession; it has become a regular theological term in Anglican writings; it meets us in every page; and we are naturally anxious to attach to it an idea clear and definite, as every theological term ought to have.

Now of all slippery phrases in controversy, a metaphorical one is the most ungraspable; it is in fact, generally speaking, unfit for such a place. But at any rate it must bear the lowest of all tests of propriety, the simplest of all keys of interpretation,—comparison between the term and the object from which it is figuratively drawn. If we are told that the Church is "the pillar of truth,"§ we seize at once the entire idea—a column is a strong compact support: one single, solid mass, shaped in fair proportions, to combine strength

* Hope, on the Bishopric of the U. Ch. at Jerusalem p. 62. † Bishop of Ripon's Charge, p. 20.

‡ Dr. M'Caull's Consecration Sermon, p. 14.

§ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

and beauty; firm, unshaken, unbending, upright; it is based on earth, and it rears its head towards heaven; men may lean upon it, and it will not fail them; they may look upon it, and it will delight them; they may hang garlands upon it, and it will seem more comely;—but they are not part of it, they affect not its own proper beauty. Upon it rests truth, unfailing truth, pinnacled above the reach of men's hands or men's breath, unsoiled by their dust, immoveable by their most fantastic efforts; to be looked at, believed in, admired, loved, but not handled and played upon, moulded or mutilated at their will. Turn the figure in every way, it stands right; you comprehend it, you see new beauties, new proprieties; you can discover no flaw, no angle; it is all—

"Fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus;"

like what it is drawn from.

But, this figure of the "*Branch*," when applied to a Church, and of "*Branches*" when applied to Churches, sets us a-thinking, in order to discover, by a similar process, what theory of the Church it gives us, as that most current now in Anglican theology. A branch is a part of something else, of a plant—so we speculate with ourselves. Many different branches may be parts of one plant, but any number of them, however joined together, never can form a plant. They must branch out *from* something; they must have A TRUNK; as that trunk must have *a root*. For us

to understand the theory of *Branch-churches*, we must have the history of the entire plant. *Of* what is the Anglican Church a branch? Of the Church Catholic, we are told. What is that Church Catholic? The union or aggregation of all apostolic, episcopal churches; the Greek, the Roman, the Anglican, the American, etc. But these again are all branches; whence do *they* spring? Does the aggregate of branches compose the trunk or main stock? Is the Anglican Church, when viewed alone, a *branch* of the Church Catholic, and when viewed with reference to the Greek Church, a *part of the trunk* from which this branches out? Or is the "Catholic Church," from which all of them grow, a mere abstract existence, a suppositious being, a body of doctrines and principles, or rather some unembodied essence of vitality, by which the particular branch-churches have life? Surely not, or away go all the divine promises: these are made to THE CHURCH, not to its branches, as Mr. Hope observes;* and it is that, as distinguished from these, that we seek. Let us try, by the same obvious tests, the same figure, when made in that volume wherein all is perfect. Israel is compared by the Psalmist to a vine:—"Thou hast brought a vineyard [Ang. vers. *a vine*] out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the Gentiles and planted it. Thou plantedst the ROOTS thereof, and IT filled the land. The shadow of it covered the hills; and the branches thereof the ce-

* Ubi sup.

dars of God. It stretched forth its BRANCHES unto the sea, and its BOUGHS unto the river."* Here we have every part complete; we have a vine sending forth "branches" to distant lands. But we are not at a loss to discover where these have their origin; the main stock and root remain firm and immovable in the land in which they were planted. Israel in Palestine is the "trunk;" its colonies, or armies, or tributary provinces were its "branching honors." Or let us look at a far sublimer application of the same image:—"I am *the vine*, you *the branches*."† Here again we have, in a few words, all that we can want to fill up the idea. Simple reference to the prototype explains every part of the image. We see how justly there can be branches, because we see from what they spring and to what they are attached. Tell us that the Apostles, when they established themselves in different countries, became "branches" in another sense, the founders of branch-churches, and we have lost all the clear simplicity of our idea, because the counterpart is wanting;—we ask of what trunk?

But this figure, as employed by our Lord, suggests another question. How, at all, are those branches united into one Church of Christ? Our Blessed Saviour's alternative seems so obvious, that one cannot help applying it. Branches receive no nourishment, no sap, no life from branches—it is from the main stem alone, which draws it from

* Ps. lxxix. 9 *seqq.* † John xv. 5.

the root, and disseminates it over every part of the plant. A branch is either in connection with this trunk, or it is cut off, it is withered, it is wholly dead. "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abide in the vine, so neither can you, unless you abide in me. If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth *as a branch*, and shall wither, and they shall gather him up, and cast him into the fire, and he burneth." "Aut vitis aut ignis," writes a holy father; there is no alternative. To be only "as a branch" is the same as being "cast forth;" and therefore "branches of the Church Catholic," which adhere not firmly, livingly, through circulation of inward sustaining sap, to THE Church Catholic, that is to something whereunto they are referable, as a branch is to its tree, are necessarily in that sad state.

Let us look at the point in another way. There is a Church in France, acknowledged to have all the essentials of a true and lawful Church. How shall we call it? Shall it be "the Gallican branch of the Church *Catholic?*" or shall it be "the Gallican branch of the *Roman* Church?" Surely it is as much entitled to the first of these names as the Anglican is to a similar one. But we are not particular on this point. If it be conceded, as we suppose it must be, we put the same question regarding the Spanish and Portuguese, and Austrian and Bavarian, and Italian Churches, to go no farther. Well, here we have so many branches of the Catholic Church, as much so as the

Anglican. But these cohere, these communicate; they form one, and how? By union with a main stem, of which they all acknowledge themselves to be in some sort branches. From the Roman Church they receive their bishops, one and all; they receive dispensations, favors, indulgences, decrees, rubrics, canonizations, definitions and many other tokens of superior station, and richer juices, enough to pass from her, as from the stem, to all the branches. Or if you will call these only "branches of the *Roman* Church," which, united together, form "*a* branch of the Church Catholic," the *Roman* branch, as it is sometimes called, we have a singularly felicitous branch indeed, that can bear so many boughs, most of them equal to the Anglican in number of bishops, many far superior. But this will not do. Disguise it as you will, you have here the figure carried out to the letter, you have subordination of co-ordinate parts to one that binds and sustains them in living union, in participation of religious gifts, derived through it, as through a kindly nutritious stem, from the only *root* that it acknowledges, the Lord and Saviour, who is the basis and foundation that supports it, the only source of its life and nourishment. Yes, here we have the figure complete; we care not how many branches there may be, nor how far they go—"to the sea and to the river,"—we care not whether they be old or new, gnarled or tender, we know of what they *are* branches; of that venerable and time-honored stem, which Peter water-

ed, yet a weakly sapling, with his blood; which emperors hacked and hewed with axe and sword for ages, and modern kings of earth thought to trim and weaken with their crooked pruning-hooks; but it waxed in strength, and height, and thickness, adding every age a new circle of solid substance to its mass, and giving every generation proof of its unabated prolific vigor. Root, stem, and branches—all is complete. But with *this* perfect system, the Anglican "branch" has no connection. As far as regards *it*, this is a cast-off branch.*

How natural, on the other hand, does the image appear in the words of Mr. Sibthorp.

"When I viewed it [the English Church] at any subsequent period down to the commencement of the sixteenth century, I met with the same unaltered character; and though the Catholic body had been lopped of some of its limbs, by the severing strokes of heresy or schism, it still flourished a vigorous, stately, wide expanded *tree*, the same in every essential, almost in every private particular, which it had been, when *the English branch* first grew from out its sustaining, fostering *trunk*. The Catholic Church in communion with the See of Rome, stood forth, in my view, the close and perfect anti-type of the Church under the New Testament. She had still a *branch* unsheltered, yet growing—feeble, yet full of hidden life—despised, yet fruitful—in my native land;

* [In New Zealand the name for a Catholic is *Picopo*, from *Episcopus*, a bishop, the French being called *Picopo oui oui*; the term for a Protestant means a "cut-off branch." A Catholic priest meeting a native convert, asked him his religion, and was answered, in all simplicity, "I am a cut-off branch."]

and in joining myself to it, I felt that I should join myself to the Church of the whole earth."—P. 13.

Here all is consistent and intelligible; the branch has a trunk on which to grow. But, although this language is beautiful and most apt as an illustration, it would be by no means adequate as the expression of a theological idea; these terms which we would freely use in this manner, we would not adopt as foundations for such theories as we shall see that the Anglicans build upon them. According to our view, the Catholic Church is one and indivisible, one spirit animating one body, giving to it all one life, discernible not merely by similarity of outward and visible operations, but by intercommunion of inward principles, the assent to one doctrine, based upon one authority, guaranteed by one infallibility, secured by one bond of love, strengthened by one hope. One food nourishes it all; one breath animates it; one vital spirit quickens it. If its heart beat, the thrilling impulse reaches, by wonderful channels, the furthest extremity; if one of these be but slightly wounded, the very citadel of life is shaken. But lately, bishops and priests, and laymen, suffered glorious martyrdom for Christ's sake, in Tonkin and China. Did the Anglican prelates condole, did their Church sympathize with the sufferers. Was it to it as though a limb of the body to which it belonged had been cruelly mangled? Was there the slightest emotion produced? And could the two then belong to one body,

or be acted upon by one spirit? In other words, can they form part of one Church Catholic? Surely a limb cut off could not be more dead to the sufferings of a body. But with us it is not so. Catholicity is the spirit that animates the entire frame-work of the Church. You might as well talk of the branch of the soul, which is in the hand or the eye, as of the "branch of the Church" which is in England, or France, or any other country. Cut off the one, pluck out the other, because it scandalizeth the body,* and that limb must perforce perish, as no longer animated by the one soul; and yet does not this suffer diminution or restriction, by the loss of such valuable limbs or organs.

We might put this form of speech to a further test—the usage of antiquity; as the theological school wherein it is in use appeals to this as to its standard. We shall no doubt find the Christian religion or the Catholic Church spoken of as a ramifying body, but it will be only for the express purpose of including in this figure, the idea of perfect, vital cohesion of all its parts, in unity of belief, affections, and communion. We shall hear the Fathers say, "Solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum, tenaci radice fundatum. Ab arbore frange ramum, fractus germinare non poterit." † And this im-

* Matt. v. 30.

† "The sun's rays are many, but the light one; and the branches of a tree are many, but the trunk one, fast rooted

mediately after having said, "Hanc Ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui Ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?" * and before saying a little later, "Individua, copulata, connexa" (Christi vestis inconsutilis), "ostendit populi nostri concordiam cohærentem." † And again, "Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia ejus, et fides una, et plebs una, in solidam corposis uni tatem concoriæ glutino copulata." ‡ But we cannot imagine them, for one moment, speaking of the branch of the Church Catholic in Africa as quite unconnected with the Roman or Gallican branch, refusing all communion with it, nay, treating of the sinfulness of joining it, and yet declaring that they formed together part of one, of *the* one Catholic Church.

Perhaps it may be said that while national churches form the branches, Christ himself is the

in the ground. . . .Break a branch from the tree, and broken it can bud no more."—S. Cyprian de Ecc. Unit. p. 195, ed. Maur.

* "Can he who holds not to this unity of the Church, believe that he holds the faith? Can he trust that he is in the Church, who opposes and resists the Church, who deserts the see of Peter, on whom the Church was founded?"—Ibid.

† Christ's seamless garment, "single, united, close-knit together, shows forth the perfect concord of our people."—P. *seq.*

‡ "God is one, and Christ one, and one His Church; and faith is one, and the people one, joined by the cement of concord, into the compact unity of a body."—P. 202.

stem in which they are all centred and united. But this cannot be so, any more than that He can be the body whereof He is the head. He is not the Church; and if these are branches of the Church, they are branches of something distinct from Him. He is the root, the source of all nourishment and life, and we want to discover what receives these things from Him and transmits them to what are considered *only* branches.

Or it may be reasoned, that figurative expressions are not to be pressed in this way; that they serve as familiar phrases for illustration, but are not intended to be definite theological terms. To this we assent; yet on this very account we quarrel with them: and herein there is no paradox. Let us speak of branches of Christ's Church as men speak of the various "branches of natural science," without intending to insinuate that they all spring from one single stock; though even these "communi quodam societatis vinculo inter se conjunguntur," and would not be called so but for a close intercommunion and harmony existing among them. Let men, we again say, speak thus only illustrating, or popularly, and we shall say nothing about it. But unfortunately, upon this idea they build weighty theological, nay moral, arguments; and there we may not let it pass. For instance, Mr. Dodsworth, in his sermon on "Allegiance to the Church," preached on occasion of Mr. Sibthorp's admission to Catholic communion, talks of "allegiance to that branch of the Catholic Church

which has given them [Anglicans] new birth," as an insuperable barrier to their going over to the Roman branch, which, according to the rev. gentleman, cannot be done without a sinful exercise of private judgment.* So likewise Dr. Hook tells us of certain of his younger brethren, who may be represented, according to his views, as ultra-High Church, who "regard the Church of England *as a branch* of the Catholic Church, from which, without peril to their souls, they may not secede."† Here then we have moral obligations deduced from the supposition of a ramified Church, the branches of which are so far from having a bond of connection, that it is sinful to pass from one to the other. This is a serious conclusion, and we are naturally led to ask for the warrant, either in Scripture or tradition, for a classification of Churches, so formidably separated, yet without any taint of schism on either side—both being parts of Christ's one true Church, yet separated by so deep a trench as sin. Show us, we repeat, the authority for a phrase on which such a grievous consequence is built, and let us know exactly what constitutes a branch-church, and where is its peculiar charter of rights to be found.

"A *Church* —THE *Church*." Our last inquiry leads us to another, nearly connected with it. What exactly constitutes the difference between

* Page 9, *seq.*

† Reasons for contributing towards the support of an English bishop at Jerusalem.

these two terms? We ask the question because we think they are often confounded in the sort of works of which we are speaking. For example: Mr. Dodsworth, in the sermon just referred to, speaks of the allegiance due to the branch of the Church which gave his hearers new birth: and he puts the following reasoning into the mouth of a sound Anglican, as an effectual antidote against joining us, "I belong to the Church of England, because (under Christ) she gave me new birth; and therefore I can as little think of leaving her, as of forsaking my own mother." Are not the prerogatives of "THE Church," and of "A Church," here strangely confounded? We have been accustomed to read, from St. Augustine down to the present time, that it is *the* Church of Christ, and not any national or special Church into and by which we are born again. We never heard of a person receiving new birth from the Gallican, or Roman, or African Church, *as such*, but from the Catholic Church. We always have understood, that wherever, and by whomsoever baptized, the child is baptized in the faith of *the* Church—"fide universæ societatis sanctorum," as St. Augustine writes;* and does not become a member of any special Church, but of the universal Church. Instead of baptism's being the badge of unity, it thus becomes a principle of separation; there may be indeed one God, one faith, and one hope of our calling, but not one baptism. This solemn rite and

* Enchir. c. 42; Catec. Rom. p. ii. cap. ii.

holy sacrament is to be a bar to communion; for Mr. Dodsworth's plea, according to his own explanation, is independent of all supposed abuses or superstitions in our Church; nay, it holds good, he tells us, supposing "that Rome was most pure, and that the English Church were the least so, among all *the branches* of the Church of Christ." * Were all the other causes of separation removed, nationality of baptism would thus still remain an insuperable obstacle to perfect communion!

The Rev. W. Palmer, speaking of a Russian lady, who has aggregated herself to the Anglican Church, says that "no efforts have been spared to convince her—that the Church of England is A Catholic Church," and that her relations have in vain endeavored "to ascertain from the clergy and authorities of the English Church, whether they profess to preside over A Catholic Church, or a Protestant persuasion."† In another place he speaks of "*Catholic Churches* and Protestant persuasions."‡ This talking of more than one Catholic Church—"A Catholic Church," or "Catholic Churches," certainly sounds harsh and unnatural in our ears. It destroys even, to our minds at least, the very plausibility of the first phrase on which we have commented. These supposed branch churches, which, united together (however inconsistently), formed the one Catholic Church;

* Page 13.

† Aids to Reflection, p. 62.

‡ Ib. p. 77.

here we have a multiplicity of such Catholic Churches. Can such language be correct?

Our reason for directing attention to this form of expression is, that, like the former one, it is often made the basis of practical error. It is that which pervades the sermon above alluded to. The reverend preacher takes for his text, 1 Cor. xii: 20:—"Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called." We are not surprised that he should not have proceeded to the next words:—"*Wast thou called a bondman?* care not for it." But really we cannot but feel pained, when from such a text he deduces the doctrine, that it is sinful to quit the national communion. Yet so it is; he tells us that this conclusion is comprised in those words.* For this error we will venture to propose a remedy. Let Scripture and tradition be carefully examined, and let all the texts and authorities which relate to the Church be sifted. First of all, see what is the allegiance due to the Church of Christ, considered as the depositary of His promises; and having put these aside, collect those which define the rights of, and prescribe the duties towards, particular churches, independently of their being in close union with the former; and we venture to predict that the claims to our allegiance to THE one Church of Christ will swallow up every pretended right in A Church of any sort. In other words, our first duty is to the *Universal* Church; our second,

* Page 10.

to the *Particular* one. The term *national* we abhor, when applied to His institution who knows no difference between Greek and barbarian. If the particular Church bring, and join us, to the former, we must seek unity through it; if not we must seek it without it. The branch is of no use to us only so long as it unites us to the stem: if it be broken off, we must cleave to this. The Church Catholic is our mother—the particular Church the nurse. If the latter forget her place and usurp parental rights, we know whither we must flee.

3. "Apostolical Succession." This phrase may be said to form the very keystone of the Anglican High-Church system; and we may be considered rash in classifying it among those which have not a sufficiently definite signification. We do so, however, with no invidious meaning—only to draw attention to one or more points, which have satisfied our minds, that a vague impression, and no more, is produced by it; and that the term is anything but clear. The Anglican Church is made to rest her claims, by her modern defenders, upon a succession, real or supposed, in her episcopacy, from the apostles. At the same time we find this succession traced to the apostles, through the see of Rome. Thus Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College:—"More than a hundred and fifty bishops, in regular succession from St. Peter to the present time, have presided over the primitive Roman Church, and over that of Canterbury,

derived from it in the sixth century."* Again, the Tracts for the Times:—"Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present metropolitan."† In other words, the present succession in the see of Canterbury is supposed to be engrafted upon the Roman Apostolic Church, at the period of St. Austin and Pope Gregory the Great. At the same time, we are often told that this apostolical succession is transmitted entirely by the imposition of hands, or ordination; and that the bishop of Rome has no right or jurisdiction of any sort in the appointing of bishops or archbishops in England. No one is more resolute in this view of things than Mr. Palmer himself—the consecration alone gives the jurisdiction in the see, according to his view.‡ Yet St. Austin was not consecrated by the pope, but by the archbishop of Arles;§ and consequently the succession in the see of Canterbury does not join into the truly apostolic succession of the Roman Church in the sixth century; at most, it joins the secondary succession of Arles, and must find its way to the apostles through its channel. This is, supposing all else to be right in the present see of Canterbury; which of course we do not allow.

It may be asked what does it matter, through what Church, or see, the succession is traced?

* Treatise of the Church, vol. i. p. 212, 2nd ed. † No. 7.

‡ The apostolical jurisdiction and succession of the Episcopacy in the British Churches vindicated, sec. ii.

§ Ven. Bede, Hist. lib. i. c. xxvii.

We answer, it is not to this point that we now wish to call attention, but rather to the indefiniteness of a phrase in such daily use in modern theology. It should be clearly understood in what way "apostolic succession" is transmitted, that we may know exactly what is meant by it. If that of Canterbury abuts in that of Rome in the sixth century, it is not by ordination, but by commission or appointment; which is an important point gained. If it be by ordination alone, then the tracing of the English Church to the apostles, in the off-hand way in which it is usually done, by engrafting it on the papal succession in St. Gregory's time, will not answer.

Our ideas, likewise, on the meaning of "apostolical succession," as used in the English theology of the day, are still farther unsettled by a most strange theory started in the consecration sermon of Dr. Alexander, preached by Dr. M'Caull, and "published at the request of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury." We there meet the following strange passage: "But that prelate [the present Greek patriarch of Jerusalem] does not pretend to be an apostle of the circumcision, and, therefore, *cannot be the representative of St. James of Jerusalem*. The patriarchate is not of primitive institution, but an erection of the fifth century, and *the patriarchs nothing more than successors of the Gentile bishops of Ælia Capitolina;* which so far from laying claim to the rights of the mother Church, as the Church of St. James cer-

tainly was, was itself for centuries subordinate to the metropolitan Church of Cæsarea. Should, therefore, by God's blessing, a Jewish Church arise in Jerusalem, and a church and bishopric of the circumcision be permanently restored, it would not, by any means, interfere with the rights or the duties of the Greek patriarch, *whose episcopate is Gentile, more than the apostleship of St. Peter was an intrusion upon that of the preacher to the Gentiles.*"* We do not quote these words to advert to the implied, and almost positive, heresy which they contain, but only to notice the peculiarly clear and modest notions which they convey on our present subject. St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, has had no successor (or representative) till now: Dr. Alexander is the first, we suppose. At any rate there is a chasm in the succession of bishops since the fifth century in the "apostolic succession" of that see, which the archbishop of Canterbury has just filled up, rehooking the chain thus broken by the "Gentile" bishops of Ælia Capitolina, who have so unreasonably interloped between the first Jewish bishop and Dr. A. St. Peter likewise was "an apostle," nay, "*the* apostle of the circumcision," and the popes have been for many centuries "Gentiles;" so we take it for granted that, according to this theory, he has had no representatives, and has none yet!

Further, we have another difficulty on this head. We do not remember this constant appeal

* Consecration Sermon, p. 13.

to "apostolical succession," in the modern sense, among ancient writers. Many heretics and schismatics possessed it, having their own bishops in possession of sees more easily and directly traceable to the apostles, than that of Canterbury. Nor was there a dispute about the validity of their orders. Yet the apostolicity of their Churches was denied; and on what ground? That they were not in communion with truly *apostolic* Churches; that is to say, with Churches whose episcopacy came in right line from the apostles. Our reader, if conversant with the "Tracts," will be acquainted with the well-known passages from Tertullian, St. Irenæus, and others, in which heretics are challenged to competition on the point of apostolicity. No question is made as to whether their historical succession can be traced into an apostolic Church, but first, the essence of apostolicity is made to consist in union with primary apostolic Churches; and secondly, its proof is rested entirely on the succession in such Churches. We will only refer to Tertullian's words on both these points, as translated in the eighteenth Tract, which we willingly quote.

"From these [the Churches founded by the apostles] in turn the faith has been, and still is, propagated continually, for the creation of new Churches, which, as well as the first founded, are called apostolic, as being the offspring of those which are really such. Every family must be referred to its first original; therefore these Churches, many though they be and flourishing, yet are but one, that one original which the apostles established, and from which they all spring.

So they are all original, *and all apostolic, all being one. That oneness is evidenced by their loving intercommunion, and the name of brotherhood and the interchange of hospitality;* and these common rights are secured solely by their unanimous tradition of one and the same sacred covenant."—P. 2.

"Let them [heretics] then show the rise of their Churches; let them unroll the line of their bishops, *so running down by successions from the beginning, that their first bishop may have had for his authority and predecessor some one of the apostles*, or such apostolic men as continued to hold with the apostles. *For in this manner the apostolic Churches deduce their lines;* as the Church of the Smyrnæans produces Polycarp, appointed by John; *as that of the Romans*, Clement, in like manner ordained by Peter; and as the others, in like manner, point to those who were appointed as bishops by the apostles, to deliver down for them the apostolic seed. . . . . Come now you that wish to turn this restlessness to profit in the search after salvation; run over the apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still hold place of honor, in which the very letters they wrote are recited, re-echoing the voice and imagining the person of each of them. Is Achaia nearest to you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. If you can reach Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you are in the neighborhood of Italy, you have Rome, whence we also draw our own authority. How happy is that Church! Where the apostles poured forth their whole doctrine together with their blood; where Peter is likened in suffering to the Lord; where Paul is crowned with an end like the Baptist's; where the Apostle John, having been plunged in heated oil and suffered nothing, was banished to his island. Let us see what this Church has learned, what she has taught, what tokens she has sent of doctrine to the African Churches."—P. 5.

We therefore suggest, that the bare fact of apostolical succession, as thrown out in favor of the Anglican Church (supposing that fact correct),

does not constitute the argument which it is meant to supply in its favor. There, and there alone, is apostolical succession, where there is intercommunion with the Apostolic See.

4. The "Rule of Faith." This is another expression to which we would gladly see a clear definition attached. We do not wish exclusively to blame modern Anglican writers for want of clearness. The expression is vague in more ancient writers. The heading of the Tract just alluded to, distinguishes two separate significations given to the phrase by Tertullian. But at the present moment we want exceedingly a determination of the question what is the Anglican "Rule of Faith?" According to both the Rev. Messrs. W. Palmer, we Catholics are here in a state of schism, and it is our duty to unite ourselves with the Anglican Church. When such a proposal is made to one, he has a right to ask, what is the formulary or Rule of Faith by which he has to be guided, the moment that he gives up that clear and definite profession to which he has till now been accustomed. It is not Scripture, we have been told again and again: this is the "standard, test, or depositary" of faith, not its rule.* It is not to be found in the Articles:—the late controversies have decided that point; these are merely negative and contradictory, they define and prescribe nothing. Is it then in Scripture and tradition? But where has the Church of

* British Critic, No. xl.

England embodied the points of the latter which it sanctions and commands us to hold? It surely cannot expect each one to exercise his own judgment on the body of tradition as amassed in the Fathers and Acts of Councils? Is it then in the Prayer-book, and Catechism joined to the Articles? But these again will only lead us into new controversies. For instance: we consider Confirmation a sacrament. If we wished to know what is expected to be believed by Anglicans on this subject, we look at the Prayer-book in vain for light. May we then retain our view of the sacramental character of Confirmation? Certainly, many will reply; for clear intimation is given in late writings that such an opinion may be held in the Anglican Church. But we are at once baffled and beaten back by the fact that, if so, it is not validly administered, even supposing no defect in its minister. For the imposition of hands is surely an essential of this rite, if it be sacramental, without which it is invalid, the form having no matter. Yet the bishop of Ripon tells us that "the growth of population, in some quarters especially, since this rubric [ordering the separate imposition of hands] was framed, has rendered the compliance with it almost, if not altogether, a physical impossibility. For my own part," he adds, "I would say that nothing but this vast numerical increase would reconcile me to a deviation from the prescribed order."* Surely this reasoning on the

* Charge, p. 17. What would the bishop say to the con-

part of a bishop of the Church, and the avowal (we take it for granted a true one) that the sacramental rite necessary for valid administration is made to bend to convenience, and is practically abandoned, would leave us no alternative but to conclude, either that this ordinance is not considered a sacrament by the English Church, or that we must make up our minds to join a Church, which makes no scruple of administering it invalidly. In like manner, having been accustomed to clear and definite decisions upon the most practical subject of ministerial absolution, preceded by humble and full confession, we should naturally expect to find something specific as to what our new duties would be, were we at all inclined to follow either of the Messrs. Palmer's suggestion. Surely it will not be said that the entire doctrine of confession and absolution, with all their conditions and adjuncts, are to be deduced from a rubric relating to the special case of a dying man. And similarly we should feel ourselves called upon

firmations in Belgium or Ireland, where the entire day is sometimes occupied by the bishop in one confirmation, and where yet the unction, with its accompanying words, is performed on each individual? [A letter was written by the secretary of Dr. Longley, and inserted in the following number of the Review, stating that his lordship's expression referred to the recital of the form with each candidate, not to the touching of each one's head. The expressions of the text must therefore, be so far modified, as to refer to the omission of the words, not of the act, in each confirmation. The charge of invalidity will not be in reality much altered.]

to reason on other points, were we seriously to entertain for a moment the extraordinary theory of these gentlemen, respecting the Catholic communion in this country. Shall we then conclude, that the three Creeds contain the sole and entire Rule of Faith of the Anglican Church? For this, likewise, seems to be popularly taught in our days. But even this will not do—What shall we believe on the Eucharist, on the power of the keys, on works, and many other subjects?

But if we are to be guided by the practice of antiquity, we shall find that the symbols did not constitute alone the Rule of Faith; because, in addition to them, profession of belief was exacted, under rigid penalty, of whatever other points the Church had defined, subsequent to their being drawn up. St. Isidore of Seville is a clear testimony to this fact. In his admirable and most interesting Treatise on Ecclesiastical Offices (including all, whether ritual or personal), he goes minutely into the preparation of candidates for baptism. He gives us a chapter "De Symbolo," on the Creed which the catechumen had to learn; but this is followed by another, "*De Regula Fidei*,"—On the Rule of Faith. It begins with these words: "Hæc est autem post symbolum apostolorum certissima fides, quam doctores nostri tradiderunt." He then enumerates various doctrines, defined at different times, or universally held by the Church; such as, that virginity is to be preferred to marriage; that baptism must not

be repeated; that we can do no good without grace, etc. After this he thus concludes: "Hæc est Catholicæ traditionis Fidei vera integritas, de qua si unum quodlibet respuatur, tota fidei credulitas amittitur."* A similar method to this the Catholic Church now follows, of adding to the Creed, in her Profession of Faith, the traditional definitions of the Church, especially those of the last General Council.

We therefore must conclude, that it would be of serious importance in the present controversy, which, beyond any other of modern times, has occupied and interested the public mind, to have a distinct understanding of what constitutes "the Rule of Faith" of the Anglican Church. Several other expressions are yet upon our list which we would have gladly discussed. But we refrain, partly because we have not noticed their occurrence so much in later publications; partly because they would probably lead us much farther than the preceding ones have done.

But the subject on which we have last treated, seems to call our thoughts to another view of its application, not unpleasant for us to advert to. There is obviously a diversity of opinion among those who uphold the High-Church views, as to the duty of Catholics. Some now leave our position unnoticed, and silently show no wish that we should change it. With these we have no desire to quarrel—we wish not to urge them into contro-

* De Officiis, lib. ii. cap. xxiv. tom. vi. p. 465 ed. Azev.

versy. They are more engaged in thinking on their own state and their own duties; and we would gladly leave them to the working of their own thoughts. We believe that they would waive all question of whose place it was to move, provided we could all come together. They would have unity by force of mutual attraction; and so long as we embrace, will not calculate who made the first step. But there are others of more ticklish sensibilities on the subject. Mr. Palmer, of Magdalene, and others with him, would have a more indirect course. He undoubtedly desires to see his Church in communion with all other episcopal Churches over the world. He has said so in ardent and decisive terms in his "Letter to Mr. Golightly;" and we regard and esteem him for the sentiment, and for the frankness and heartiness with which it was uttered. But at the same time, he would first have his Church swallow all of us up. According to his theory, we are schismatics from Anglicanism; and we must get into this, before we can hope for any good. In other words, we are happily in communion with the rest of the world, we are owned by all the West, our doctrines and discipline are in accordance with its Churches, and those of the East in communion with them; our bishops are received by theirs as brethren, and receive letters communicatory from them; our clergy are admitted to officiate at their altars, to preach in their pulpits; our laity are able to join in their worship and communion. At

the same time, our orders are recognized as valid by all, even by separated Churches, and no one would venture to dispute our consecration, or sacramental power. This no doubt is a desirable state; one to which these gentlemen would gladly bring their Church. But we must forego it. We must needs give up our present Catholicity, enter into the womb of the Anglican Church, *to take our chance* of being born again to Catholicity, should she ever have this happiness. We have no business to be standing on the shore, towards which she is laboring to steer, through rocks and shoals, and buffeting waves, and repelling surfs. She may appear to us to be leaky, and ill-appointed, without guiding card, or heaven-directed breeze, without authorized command, or seaworthy bulwarks; and there may be no hope that she will ever reach the secure haven, in whose shelter we are. Yet we are told, we must leave this, and creep back into her inhospitable hold, to share her fortunes, and be lost or tempest-tossed, as she may fare. No, no, this will not do. We must have more than Mr. Palmer's word for such a duty, before we can think of it.* The *Orbis terrarum* comes

* [Not long ago, after the Gorham decision, the idea of seceding from the Establishment, by the formation of a new non-juring *petite église*, was being discussed, when the matter was cut short by one, who was universally esteemed, wittily saying: "No, no; we have already got out of the ship into the boat, let us not think of getting out of the boat into the tub." He has since had the happiness of returning to the ship of Peter.]

before the particular Church (supposing it to be a Church otherwise not defective), and to have to go out of the former into the latter, in hopes of getting back through it, would indeed be a strange way of securing what, by God's mercy, we possess. Had St. Gregory the Great, and his missionary St. Austin, disagreed and separated (which we deem of course impossible), we should have cleaved to the former; and now, if we must have the successor of only one of them with us, we prefer the master's to the disciple's line. The sixteenth Gregory represents the former to our minds perfectly, as his heir in place, in doctrine, in episcopacy, in supremacy, no less than in name; Dr. Howley (we mean not personally) gives us no sign of family descent, by anything save actual occupancy. But independent of this difference, if we can have allegiance only *either* to Rome or Canterbury, to the mother or the daughter, to the trunk or the offshoot, to the apostolic, or to the episcopal, see, we yield it willingly, lovingly, and irrevocably to the former. Let Canterbury do its duty; let it seek and obtain communion from the chair of St. Peter, and from the great body of bishops throughout the world, and we will bow ourselves before the primatial chair, lower than the lowest, and reverently kiss the jewelled hand of its occupier, and promise him all canonical obedience; but so long as he and his suffragans are not recognized by the Church Catholic, as an actual, living, communicating portion thereof, we recognize and know

them not, we have no part in them or with them; we must beg to be Catholics, at the expense of not being Anglicans.

In fact, there is something so startlingly new in the name *Anglo-Catholic*, or, *Anglican-Catholic*, that it would render us uneasy to bear it. There is a "general particular" sound in the term, a neutralizing combination of *plus* and *minus* quantities, a conflict of positive and negative forces in it, which render it equal to *zero* in final value. Such compound appellations convey the idea of a new race, composed of two naturally distinct ones. *Anglo-Saxon*, *Anglo-Norman*, *Syro-Chaldean*, *Gallo-Grecian*, are intelligible factitious terms, which tell their own history, that two different tribes coalesced into one nation. And if we apply this to religion, we have the glorious example of the *Luthero-Calvinistic* union lately effected in Prussia, and perhaps we might add the *Evangelico-Anglican* bishopric of Jerusalem. But the term *Anglo-Catholic* will not admit of such an interpretation. It supposes no union between parties represented by the two members of the word, but, as we have already observed, these two members are contradictory, and reciprocally eliminating. The one word is descriptive of insularity, the other of universality; the one confines, the other breaks down all barriers; the one tells us of communion denied, the other of it granted by other Churches beyond the seas; the one identifies the limits of religious intercourse with those of the jurisdiction

of our laws, or the prowess of our armies, blends the sacred with the profane power, makes the Church, like the constitution or the army, *national;* the other levels all distinctions, knows no banner but the cross, and claims for its territory whatever this has redeemed—the entire earth. We might as well talk of our parliament being *the* "Anglo-European" legislature, as of the Establishment being the Anglo-Catholic Church. It is as monstrous as the "*callida junctura*" of "Protestant-Catholic." But even supposing it a matter of doubt, supposing that there were some grounds for balancing between duty to the Catholic (that is universal) or to the Anglican Church, we surely could not hesitate one moment, as to which our natural feelings would prefer.

The wants and wretchednesses of the English Church have been too well exposed to us in modern times, for any danger to remain of her alluring us into her arms. We no longer hear men descant upon the noble simplicity of her worship, upon the severe spirituality of her devotions, upon her freedom from the slavery of outward observances, upon her purity from mere human institutions, that act on the senses and feelings, to the detriment of reason's sterner claims: No: all these former boasts have become the theme of melancholy lamentation, as losses not easily to be compensated. She presents none of the array of the King's daughter, none of the winning graces of the spouse of the Lamb; she dwells in a soli-

tude of her own making; her ways mourn, because none come to her festivals; she is a tributary, a captive. She has no retreats in which holy contemplatives pray in silence, no safe anchorages of religious solitude, into which the care-tossed mind, the penitent heart, the timid conscience, can fly for shelter. She has no peaceful cloisters, where virgins sacred to God walk in sisterly community, to sing His praises, like their mates in heaven, or to minister to His little ones and poor. She has no seven-fold hour of prayer, no midnight vigils, no daily awakening, at mystical intervals, of the joyful hymn and solemn psalm. The vaults of her deserted churches would startle at the unusual peal of a multitude's voice. She retains no note of times and seasons; the days of penitential humiliation, and those of spiritual exultation, are equal in her blank calendar and ritual: no soothing strains, to each peculiar; no variation of outward garb; no solemn office commemorative of each mystery of redemption, each institution of love; no lively representation of the most glorious scenes. A dull and chill monotony is in her service, suited neither to the Easter *Alleluja*, nor to the Lenten *Miserere*. Her churches, if modern, are without consecration; no holy chrism anoints their walls; no mystic rites inscribe on their area the symbol of universal communion; no majestic procession introduces into them the remains of ancient saints. Upon her altars (if they may bear that name) no oil of gladness hath been poured, no

symbolical frankincense burnt, no form of ancient prayer recited. No martyr's bones repose beneath them, to break forth thence, one day, in glorious resurrection; but the shrines that once adorned them have been demolished, and their treasures (we mean not the gold that perisheth) burnt, and scattered to the winds. The cross of Christ hath been plucked down, the holy images of Himself and His saints ignominiously destroyed, a mean and inglorious table hath usurped the place of all. The tabernacle hath been swept away, and with it all its tributary ornaments and perennial lamps; and still more, the all-holy gift which it contained. The eye, the sun, the soul of the temple is extinguished,—and shall not the entire body be darksome?

But if these appear only secondary institutions, we feel still more that her very sacramental ordinances (such few as exist in her) have been pared down to the quick, and deeper. At baptism she has foregone all right to command and rebuke the powers of darkness; she has forfeited the twofold unction, the "salt of wisdom" (the sacrament of catechumens as it was anciently called), the white robe and the burning lamp, with all the venerable prayers that accompany their application. And even in the performance of the essential rite, such unseemly negligence has grown up, so slight an application of the matter of the sacrament is permitted, as to leave serious doubt of its validity.

Of confirmation we have already spoken; not

only is the sacred anointing gone, but the very individual administration has been dispensed with. There is but the shadow, not even the avowal of a sacrament.

Then when we come to the most solemn act of worship, what a sadly maimed Liturgy does she present to us! On ordinary days only a fragment of even this; the primary and essential portion of the Christian service, the holy Eucharist, being systematically omitted. And when this rite is administered, we find wanting important practices, which the ancient Church considered of apostolical institution,—the mingling of the water in the chalice, the commemoration of the departed and of the saints in glory, the prayer of consecration. No sacred vesture, no lights, no incense, no chant, no subordinate ministers distinguish this from the cold didactic performance of her ordinary service. Protestants lay great stress on what they are pleased to call the mutilation of the sacrament, by the withholding of the cup from the laity; but they do not much think of the entire withdrawal of it from the greater part of men, which their present system has virtually induced. Except on those stated days when custom sanctions its administration, the soul might languish in vain for the food of life, if the Anglican Church possessed it. When inward trial afflicts, and the heart wishes to lean upon this staff of life, when aspirations of love visit it, and it longs to fly whither they would lead; when we feelingly desire to be

with Magdalene at the feet, or with John on the bosom, of Jesus, we should go in vain to the bare chancel-rail of the parochial or collegiate church, and cast in vain a supplicating look towards its desolate and cold communion-table. It is, indeed, a table without food, inhospitable, cheerless; no symbol of family union, no rallying-point for the Church's children to grow around, like green and youthful olives. No: we cannot afford to forego our daily bread, nor the happy home in which it is always ready for us; cheerless will be our toiling, if the bitterness of the day be not sweetened by this morning manna. Surely many feeling hearts, that are not of the happy household, must sometimes exclaim, "Quanti mercenarii in domo Patris mei abundant panibus; et ego hic fame pereo!"*

Again, look, to what is the Anglican ordination service reduced! All the ancient degrees of preparation, the training almost from infancy in the sanctuary, like the youthful Samuel's, the rising from one to another of its steps, till we stand at the altar, have been abolished. None of that singular solemnity which attends the Catholic form has been preserved, no consecration of the priestly hands, no delivery of the instruments of their ministry, no commission to offer the tremendous sacrifice. And here one view presents itself to our minds, sufficient of itself to overthrow all Mr. Palmer's pretentions in favor of his

* Luc. xv. 17.

Church. The sacraments are institutions dependent entirely upon the will of Christ. The defect of anything essential, appointed by Him, invalidates their efficacy; no virtue or holiness can supply it. Be it the matter, or the form, or the lawful minister, it is all one—no sacrament is administered. Hence the language of all theologians on this point is consentient; no doubtfulness, which can be prevented, may be permitted; "*tutior pars est eligenda;*" we must not proceed on probabilities, however strong, where security may be obtained. Now see how this stands with the case of our respective ordinations. *Ours* every Church admits; no one has ever ventured to re-ordain, even conditionally, any apostate priest (for such God has permitted some to be) from our body. If there be orders anywhere on earth, here they surely are. Ours then are secure. But how is it with the Anglicans? They, we suppose, feel satisfied: but no one else admits their orders. Not one portion of the Western Church considers them less than doubtful, not the Greek, either united or separated, Church, nor any of the Asiatic Churches. Does not this hesitation to allow their orders make strong odds against them, when compared with ours? Is not that, by far, the *tutior pars* which *all men* agree is *tuta*, rather than that of which *all*, save the interested party, say that it is not so? Ought it not therefore to be preferred, where it is sinful, and may be fatal, not to choose the *tutior pars?* In an individual case, it is clear,

However certain we might personally feel of the validity of our own orders (we speak as *one*), were we to learn from many bishops of various countries, and particularly from him who holds the Apostolic See, that they have strong grounds for doubting their validity, owing to knowledge which they possess, we certainly should not rest content with our actual position, but should humbly entreat that all necessary steps might be taken to put us into a state of security. We could not bear, nor venture, to administer the sacraments, at the smallest risk of their invalidity, nor under the uncertainty which such a doubt in those persons would create. In like manner, we would reason concerning the orders of the English Church. It seems to us clearly the duty of those who think themselves called to bestow sacramental graces upon God's people to see that they have secured themselves against every danger of invalidity, by having the highest attainable security of their ministerial power.

And this estimate of respective security must surely weigh much with all; but with us must be a source of sincere joy and thankfulness towards God, as well as a sufficient defence against the light opinions of some Anglican neighbors, respecting our position here. For we certainly are not likely to be tempted to run after a ministry, not confident even of its own power, which dares not call men authoritatively to its tribunal to receive an absolution, the validity of which is but slightly

believed in by a few. But further, hastening over many other things, what has the poor Anglican Church left herself or her children, of comfort when it is most truly needed—at the close of life? How few of them ever get that small share of ministerial assistance which she offers; how seldom do the consolations of religion visit the workhouse or the hospital in this country! how seldom do we hear of even the better-instructed, nay, clergymen themselves, receiving the Lord's supper at their Viaticum! Where does this Church present us the spectacle of a solemn procession visiting, as in Catholic countries, the poor man's hovel or garret, swelled as it proceeds, by devout crowds; while the hand-bell and chant bring adorers to every casement, as the Lord of Glory is borne along to visit one of His poorest children? How that humble abode is cheered and lighted up by the gladdening presence, the meanest tenement changed into a palace, nay, a temple, while the priest of God, surrounded by inferior ministers, bestows the last communion on his resigned and hopeful child; and the multitude kneeling without the chamber-door (for all have freely followed into the house), pray aloud, in unison for their departing brother. And after this what farther consolations the Catholic Church has in store which the Anglican has lost! From that moment, with us, our tender mother redoubles her solicitude, and enlarges her bounty, bringing forth from her stores fresh blessings for every

hour, and its new wants and trials. That healing, and soothing, and bracing unction which comes so seasonably to strengthen the Christian athlete in his final conflict; that sublime commendation of the parting spirit into the hands of God and His angels, wherein the Church of earth seems to bear the soul committed to its care to the very threshold of the eternal gates, and there with equal solemnity, met by its triumphant brotherhood, deliver it over to their safer watchfulness; that last blessing wherein the Church of God should seem to give her expiring son the final pledge of her indulgent pardon, to imprint upon his brow the seal of her recognition, in her last parental kiss, and to receive this back upon the image of Christ crucified which is pressed to his lips; surely these are advantages for which one has a right to ask where are the equivalents, in that Church which sets up a claim to be our mother, and to have our allegiance and our love?

But these pretensions were once so beautifully decided by one who could well appreciate them, that we must give her sentence. She was a person of a powerful and cultivated mind, whom the grace of God brought into the one fold, at its very centre, as if to die within its pale. For shortly afterwards declining in health, she came to need and to receive all those heavenly appliances, which smooth the bed of the dying Catholic. Observing that the curate, after his first visit, had left his stole, according to usage, across the foot of

the bed, she desired it to be carefully put by, thinking that it had been left through forgetfulness. Her spiritual father explained the circumstance to her, telling her that this was the badge of parochial jurisdiction, and a sign, that from thenceforth her holy mother the Church took her under her special protection, and would never lose sight of her, till safely conducted to the confines of eternity. She remained for some time wrapped in thought; then, after to all appearance contrasting this proof of motherhood with those which her former religion could offer, broke out into these words: "How beautiful indeed! Yes give *her* the child, *she* is the mother thereof!"*

But our attachments to her, or our painful contrasts with her vaunting rival, end not even there. The grave may be warm or cold, bright or gloomy, according to the hopes wherewith, as with flowers, we strew it. We could not endure to think that a dark convoy of silent, hired weepers, without a symbol of our faith and hope in Christ, without a prayer for mercy, will bear our earthly tabernacle to its kindred dust. We should almost shudder at the thought of a mere instruction to the living—a lecture of morality over our clay, forming our last connection with our dear and holy mother the Church. We should shrink in sorrowful anticipation from that hour, which would sever us forever from the commemoration of our surviving brethren, exclude us

* 3 Reg. iii. 27.

from all part in their daily sacrifice, and not allow us to ask (as Monica did) from those most dear to us, to be mindful of us when standing at God's altar. No; let us be laid in our shroud, with that cross, at which evil spirits tremble, grasped in our hands; let the poor brethren of some pious gild bear us, with psalms of penance mournfully sung as for a brother, to our common place of rest, "the holy field,"* consecrated by most solemn rites; let the standard of Christ be borne before us, as the emblem of victory over the grave; let the Church recite over us her touching prayers for our deliverance and rest; and the very earth which, sprinkled with blessed water, falls heavy upon the coffin, shall seem rich with her benedictions, embalming our remains, beyond Egypt's skill, for a glorious resurrection.

There are other things in the Anglican Church which can leave us well content to be "Romish recusants," as Mr. Palmer would fain call us,† or to be schismatics, according to his mode of speech, from that unhappy establishment. We will mention but one, and with it conclude. We would rather cut off our right hand, than subscribe, or have anything to do with, its Thirty-nine Articles, —those "FORTY STRIPES SAVE ONE,"‡ with which it has so cruelly tortured the body of the Apostolic Church; but the lash of which has now turned back as a scourge upon itself. The per-

* Il Campo Santo. † Letter to Mr. Golightly, p. 10.
‡ 2 Cor. xi. 34.

plexities of this formulary, which every day more strikingly brings out, its knotty embarrassments, its sinuous involutions, its humiliating captivity, make its character too plain, as a snare to the simple of heart. In its meshes we sincerely thank God that our feet are not entangled; and we say to Mr. Palmer, that "a net is spread in vain before the eyes of them that have wings."* And of those who have not received the mercy of being so preserved, we heartily and lovingly hope, that the time will soon come, when they may sing: "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus."†

* Prov. i. 17. † Ps. cxxiii. 7.

PROTESTANTISM

OF THE

ANGLICAN CHURCH.

From the *Dublin Review* for May, 1842.

ART. X.—1. *A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, at the Consecration of the Lord Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.* By the Rev. A. M'CAUL, D.D. Published at the request of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. *Statement of Proceedings relating to the Establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland.* Published by Authority.

3. *The Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, considered in a Letter to a Friend.* By JAMES R. HOPE, B.C.L.

4. *Aids to Reflection on the seemingly Double Character of the Established Church with reference to the Foundation of a "Protestant Bishopric" at Jerusalem.* By W. PALMER, M.A.

5. *Tract* 42 (*of the Catholic Institute*), *Protestantism and the Churches in the East.*

6. *Reasons for Contributing towards the Support of an English Bishop at Jerusalem.* By WALTER F. HOOK, D.D.

7. *Three Letters to the Rev. W. Palmer.* By F. D. MAURICE, A.M.

8. *Three Sermons on the Church, preached in the Parish Church of St. James, during Lent*, 1842. By CHARLES JAMES, Lord Bishop of London.
9. *The Apostolical Succession, a Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, Feb.* 27, 1842, *at the Consecration of the Right Rev. Ashurst Turner, Lord Bishop of Chichester.* By EDWARD HAWKINS. D. D., Provost of Oriel College. Printed at the command of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
10. *The Church. A Discourse delivered in the first Congregational Unitarian Church of Philadelphia.* By W. E. CHANNING.

Is the Anglican Church, by law established, a portion of the Church *Catholic;* or is it one of the *Protestant* communities which occupy parts of Europe; or, finally, is it neither one nor the other, but a middle state, detached from the latter, yet not united to the former, floating and drifting between the two, now nearer the one and now the other; nay, by one salient angle approaching this, and, at the same time, by another, well nigh touching that? Surely these are important queries; surely too they cannot be incapable of solution. And yet, though to the importance of the inquiry all will assent, on the facility of satisfying it many will differ. We hardly hope to succeed; but we think that the works before us will afford us many data for putting the true question somewhat tangibly before our readers.

But first let us ask ourselves, whence arises this great difficulty of deciding? Entirely, we reply, from those whom the inquiry most concerns. Ask every one in communion with Rome, if he be

or be not a *Catholic?* If he answer "No," he is none of ours; he virtually excommunicates himself, he is an apostate at once. Ask each of the first hundred members of the Establishment whom you may meet coming out of a parish church, if he be a *Protestant*, and a hundred to one he answers "Yes," and glories in the name. Rise in the scale of your interrogated. Go into the universities or learned assemblies of the two communions:—to similar interrogatories put to ours, you receive the same unvarying answer. Every one that you ask confesses himself a Catholic. Try the other side, the chances have increased in favor of variety of replies. Some at once reject the name of *Protestant* with scorn, and will bear only that of *Catholic*. Others still glory in the more common designation, and consider the title of "*Protestant*" a watchword of their Church. A third class are willing to compound the matter; and hence the monstrous chimera of "Protestant-Catholic," to which, among other portents, the prolific energy of modern religion has given birth. Presume, if you please, to ascend higher; on the one side all is unanimity; every bishop enjoying the "grace and communion of the Apostolic See" is Catholic in outward profession and inward conviction; poll the entire body, and you will not find one exception. Will our Anglican neighbors agree to do the same? Or will they abide by the result? The majority of the bishops of their establishment would avowedly accept the epithet

"Protestant;" their charges and other demonstrations of opinion will justify this conclusion.

At first sight, or under ordinary circumstances, we might appear to possess, in these facts, if correct, the elements necessary for answering our queries. The body of the members of the Church established consider themselves Protestants; the bench of its bishops is considered, without protest against the imputation, to be almost entirely such. Of the intermediate class, a certain portion are for rejecting the name; an equal, if not larger number, willingly adopt it. Surely a Church so constituted can be justly considered and treated as Protestant. But against this mode of reasoning we know that a loud outcry would be raised by some —a calmer protest entered by others. Authentic acts alone are held by them to bind the Church: neither the voice of the multitude, nor the individual declaration of bishops, is held sufficient. When brought to this point, we naturally ask, "What manner of acts shall be deemed the authentic expositors of the Church's belief?" "By what sort of declaration shall she be considered bound?" Shall we be answered, "By a synodical decision?" If so, we assent; but ask still farther, "By nothing short of this?" Is it to be understood that a Church professing to be a "branch of the Catholic," and if so, endued with apostolic vigor, with apostolic strength and boldness, may be so fettered, hand and foot, by the civil power, as to be absolutely deprived of every means of fulfilling her

commission to teach all truth? Is her mouth closed, and is a seal set upon her lips, as well as a chain fastened round her limbs? If the Church is kept dispersed, and no convocation permitted, does she cease to be the public instructor; has she forfeited, or may she dispense herself from the duty of warning her subjects authoritatively, of condemning heretical or erroneous doctrines, of checking refractory or schismatical conduct? Surely not; the "*Ecclesia dispersa*," even speaking of national or provincial Churches, has essentially the privileges of the "*Ecclesia congregata*." It is not the place in which bishops meet that gives them their authority; this is inherent in the episcopate; and, if they unite in declaration of doctrine, even without coming together, there is the voice of the Church, authoritative and plenary.

But is it necessary even to have thus much, in order to secure the authoritative teaching of a Church? Those with whom we have principally to deal at least have taught us not. If one bishop of our Church—if St. Alphonsus Liguori write certain passages, and the rest of the Church make no opposition, and reject and condemn them not, we are told we must allow such passages to be considered as the authoritative teaching of our Church. Be it so: at least we shall have a precedent not without its value for another case: but we are willing to have something more required. While, therefore, we will not allow that the active suffrages of all the bishops are requisite to give us the decis-

ion of a Church, we will be content that some authoritative form should invest such partial declarations, as we would stamp with the weight of the entire hierarchy. Let us put a case. We wish to ascertain what the belief of a national Church is on a given point. Men's minds are greatly agitated on the subject; the people from many sides press for a decision. Some denounce one view as heretical; some the other. The Church is rent in twain, and its teachers proclaim contradictory doctrines. The bishops, as is the case in France and in Spain at this moment, cannot meet to deliberate and consult; but yet, whenever they have occasion to speak on the important subject, they speak one way. They do not, perhaps, seek occasion to speak; but, when the occasion does come, their feeling, their teaching, their warnings, their denunciations, all go one way. Such, for instance, has been the conduct, during the last year, of the French bishops regarding education: every bishop that had a pastoral to issue, spoke on this subject, and the voices of all were in unison. Such is the conduct of the admirable episcopate of Spain at this moment, with respect to the dreadful measures of Espartero's irreligious government, for destroying the authority of the Holy See. Each one raises his voice as best he may; one speaks in a memorial to the Cortes, like the bishop of Tuy; another cries out from his place of exile; a third, perhaps, from his prison. But they are good shepherds; their sheep know their voice, and they

follow them. No one doubts which side the Church of Spain holds in this matter; it is evidently that on which its bishops have declared themselves. The silence of the other bishops does not go against this decision; because we know that they would speak out and protest, if they differed from their colleagues; it would be their duty to do so if they thought they were misleading the nation; and bishops are presumed to know and do their duty.

However, let us not be content with even these demonstrations of sentiment. Let us farther suppose, that the primate of the country comes forward to direct and conduct a public act, necessarily involving certain religious views. We will add two conditions to our statement of the problem. First, it shall be an act in which he officially acts as primate—as the first bishop in the episcopate—as its hierarchical chief, representative, and procurator. Secondly, it shall be one in which he alone can act; that is, one in which individual bishops could not all take a part, so that he must here be their organ. Under these circumstances the primate takes a certain course, which pledges him directly and entirely to a certain side of conflicting ideas. Upon this the rest of the bishops remain silent; not a remonstrance is made, not a caution is entered, not a thought of dissent is insinuated. We say that then the body has acquiesced in the decision of its head; the suffragans are with their primate; the national "*Ecclesia dis*

persa" has chosen its side. If not, when *can* such a choice be verified? But, if this be not enough, let us add more. Let us, then, suppose a justification of these views to be published by that primate, and by some very leading bishop in the Church; and yet no protest, no censure, no hint of difference of opinion from their episcopal brethren. If all this does not fix upon a Church its side, in a controverted case, we fairly give it up, and say that there are no means by which such a conclusion can be reached under ordinary circumstances. In other words, either a Church can have no means of teaching what it holds on a controverted point, when circumstances do not allow its bishops to assemble, or here we have the most obvious and probable means.

Let us now come to the application. Our inquiry is, whether the Anglican Church can be considered Catholic or Protestant? First, then, we must see what we are to understand by the two terms. By Catholic, *we* of course mean that Church which is in communion with the holy and Apostolic See of St. Peter, and acknowledges his successor in it as the head of the universal Church. But the High-Church theology will not admit this definition; but considers the "orthodox" (that is the separated or schismatical) Greek and Russian Churches, as well as other oriental Churches (though in truth all infested with Nestorianism or Eutychianism), as entering, with the Roman communion, into the composition of the Church

Catholic. Of this Church they will maintain the Anglican to be a component part; as "essentially one with all other Churches of kindred origin, both Greek and Latin."* *Protestant* Churches all agree in considering to be the Lutheran, Calvinist, and other Churches on the European continent, not in communion with the Holy See, nor belonging to the Greek rite. Now the question is, even taking the Oxford notion of the Church Catholic, "is the Anglican established Church to be considered as belonging to it, and not rather to the Protestant family?" To this question we wish to apply the tests above described.

And, first, how have the bishops, on occasion given, declared themselves? Let last year's episcopal charges speak. Scarcely one, if one, who had occasion to issue such a document, failed to touch, to say no more, on the controversies which divide the Anglican world; and all to a man took the Protestant side. Here is a real case, similar to the one before proposed of the French or Spanish bishops. It is not necessary to quote them individually: we referred to them in our last number; we may content ourselves with the complaint of those on whom their censure fell. Dr. Pusey, in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, analyzes these charges; and, though he does not admit that the bishops have properly understood the doctrines of his school, yet he fully shows that they have all condemned them, as far as they did understand them.

* Palmer's Letter to Golightly, p. 7.

"Thus I know," he writes, "that the mildest charge which was delivered in the past year, and which does in a very kind way recognize services which we have rendered, yet because the bishop goes on to point out at greater length some, though fewer and subordinate, points which he considers erroneous, has appeared to be a condemnation." * This alludes to the bishop of Ripon's charge; and the learned writer then goes on to speak of those issued by the bishops of Chester, Winchester, Gloucester, Durham, and Calcutta. The bishop of Durham's charge was not published by himself but was taken down in short-hand; the bishop of Lichfield did not at all publish his; but, if we are rightly informed, he also sufficiently declared his Protestant views upon existing controversies. Here, then, we have every bishop, who had an opportunity fairly presented him of stating his opinions, taking one side. We could not expect the others to make for themselves occasions; but we must expect them, if they thought their brethren wrong, to throw the counterpoise of their solemn protest into the other scale, and so prevent Protestantism from preponderating in the councils of the Establishment. But not a tongue stirred, not a hand moved; the silent consent of some was added to the expressed sentiments of the rest. Mr. Palmer allows that "the spirit of Protestantism seems undoubtedly to be dominant, both among dignitaries of the Establishment and society at large;" and

* Page 49.

that "people abound who, though in full communion with the Church, nay, though priests, or rather ministers, or bishops, or even archbishops, yet publicly disclaim Catholicism, and invite, and even urge their brethren to quit the 'Protestant Establishment,' on the ground that it is absolutely dishonest to hold Catholic principles within its pale." "It is not unnatural," he concludes, "for persons to suppose that a Church can scarcely be Catholic, whose rulers do not consistently and unequivocally assert to themselves that holy title, and which is viewed as a mere political establishment of Protestantism by the civil government." * We think not indeed. It would rather be hard enough on the contrary, to find a process of reasoning whereby any one could convince himself that a Church, indifferent to the title, would be considered, justly, Catholic; still less a Church in which dignitaties, ministers, bishops, and archbishops, publicly disclaim Catholicism. "But," says Mr. Palmer, "as long as I can reject Protestantism thus publicly, as I now do, as a member of the Church of England, and profess to be merely and simply a Catholic, so long will I continue to pray that I may have grace to continue steadfast in that way of salvation." (P. 10.) In other words, as long as one is allowed to *call himself* a Catholic, and yet not be rejected by that establishment, yea even at the same time condemning in the strongest terms Protestantism—the Church itself may be considered as

* Ubi sup. p. 7.

"intrinsically Catholic." In the sentences immediately preceding the one just quoted, this fervent deacon had written as follows:—"Certainly I am for no middle ways, as you will understand when I tell you plainly, that for myself, I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestanism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations. And if the Church of England should ever unhappily profess herself to be a form of Protestantism (which God of his infinite mercy forbid), then I would reject and anathematize the Church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately as from a human sect, without giving Protestants any unnecessary trouble to procure my expulsion." (P. 9.) But this reasoning will not do. The standard of a Church's orthodoxy must be rated by the minimum, not by the maximum of faith, which she will allow within her confession. The lowest scheme of opinions which she tolerates must determine her character, not the highest. Had for instance, the body of the French bishops freely permitted any one that pleased to hold and teach Jansenism; had they proclaimed it in all their pastorals;—nay, had they refused ordination to none that professed it, but *had* to some who rejected it, the Church of France would have been Jansenist, even though individuals had continued to hold the truth and denounce error. It is as with a form of government—it may be democratical, although it allows the noble to descend to the level of the people, and thus excludes them not from a share in

the state; but a determined aristocracy will not admit the plebeians to sit with the princes and rulers. And so, a truly Catholic Church cannot brook the coexistence of Protestantism within its pale; but a Protestant establishment takes all in,—Socinians, like Hoadley, on one side, and Catholicly-inclined minds, like Dr. Pusey, on the other. But this very circumstance proves that it cannot be Catholic. Catholicism is homogeneous, Protestantism heterogeneous; the one compact and united, the other vague and loose; the one inflexible, the other pliable and elastic. The one is unvarying in standard of purity, the other admits into its circulation every degree of alloy, yea down to sheer dross. The presence of gold in the base mixture does not redeem its character; this it must draw from the inferior, not from the superior metal—it is a debased compound after all. And the same must be said of that Church in which it is admitted that Protestantism, with all its lowness of standard, its coldness of feeling, its selfishness of principle, is so thoroughly mixed, kneaded, and incorporated, rises to its surface in episcopal manifestations, and penetrates its mass. The bright grains of Catholic truth or feeling which sparkle amidst the viler elements, only excite shame to see them so thrown away and disgraced; they do not stamp upon the motley heap the note of standard purity.

The conduct of the bishops,* in the Anglican

* [The use of titles or other words which custom, or legal

Church, seems therefore to offer us one very clear criterion for pronouncing on its actual Protestantism. But in ancient times, we fancy that there could have been very little difficulty in deciding such a question. There are Churches existing, which the Anglicans admit to form collectively the Church Catholic. There are on the other side certain congregations of Christians, commonly known as the Reformed or Protestant Churches. We wish to know to which the Anglican belongs. This question would, in olden times, have been put, "With which are you in communion?" It is the Spanish and Italian proverb realized:—"Tell me with whom you go, and I will tell you who you are." Yes, with which body of Christians is the Church of England in active communion? This surely is the vital question. Now as to the best means of resolving it.

The communion between Churches does not imply that all their members are in active intercourse, nor that the communion itself should be carried on by daily, nor by even frequent acts of recognition. Anciently, the chief pastor of each was charged with this duty; he was the organ, the

provision, or courtesy, adapts to persons or things, will not be misconstrued by the reader into any accordance of their rightful application in such cases. It would often involve us in a troublesome circumlocution to avoid them; and since these essays were first published, new reasons have arisen for still greater reserve in the concession of ecclesiastical titles, where not rightfully due, to those who are as jealous of their assumption by others.]

instrument of such relationship. The patriarchs communicated with each other; and so long as they did so, the whole of their provinces were considered as partaking in the privilege. In like manner the archbishops were supposed to take charge of a similar duty for their jurisdictions. If Carthage kept communion with Rome, its suffragans were on the same terms. When therefore a metropolitan acts in this matter, he virtually represents the Church. And if that Church, that is its bishops, do not protest against his act, they virtually approve of it, and become parties to it. Now, within these few months, Dr. Howley, who, in certain letters commendatory issued by him to Dr. Alexander, styles himself "Primate of all England and Metropolitan," has clearly entered into certain relations with the greatest Protestant power of the continent, upon a matter ecclesiastical, in the strictest sense of the word, namely, the appointment of a bishop at Jerusalem.

Into this matter we must now go, though obviously with different feelings from those with which the appointment was viewed a few months ago. We must premise, therefore, that the impolicy, or indelicacy, or folly of the transaction has nothing to do with our present investigation. It is nothing to us just now, whether the scheme of planting a slip from the supposed "branch of the Catholic Church," called "the United Church of England and Ireland," on Sion's holy mount, was, or was not, most uncanonical, and a gross

attempt at usurpation; nor whether the idea of sending a bishop, to make up a church of chance-travellers, prospective Jewish and Druse converts, and Anglicanized Confession-of-Augsburg-men, was not chimerical and unecclesiastical; nor even whether the most dignified and edifying way of exhibiting "the spectacle of a Church freed from errors and imperfections—holding a pure faith in the unity of the Spirit," * was to send a married bishop, with an infant family prattling round his knee, among the mortified ascetics of the East. Furthermore, it interests us not at this moment to ascertain, which of two reports is true—whether he has been graciously and respectfully received, or welcomed with hangings in effigy and pelting of stones; except that we hope not the latter, both for the sake of humanity, and from personal charity towards a man who has let himself and his family be drawn into this miserable plot; and, still more, because we should be indeed sorry and mortified to see so unworthy a transaction reckon among its incidents even the semblance of a martyr's crown, or the ground which Stephen watered with the first Christian blood, profaned by a mockery of his testimony—in favor, too, of Protestant intrusion. But our present purpose is to sift this affair, with reference to our inquiry into the Protestantism, or Catholicity, of the Anglican Church.

First, let us look at the conduct of Prussia. It

* Statement of Proceedings, p. 5.

has attempted no concealment. The Prussian government has a rage for *unions*. Whether it be a *Zoll-Verein* or a *Religious-Verein*, a custom-house or a Church-union, a bringing together of financial or religious *duties*, all seems to be to its taste. Of the first and more worldly condensation we say nothing—we have no interest in, or about, it. It belongs to the newspapers, and they have sufficiently discussed it. The second touches us most nearly. The late king began to try his hand upon the Protestantism of his own country. He had a motley crew of Lutherans and Calvinists to deal with; and he determined to achieve—what the men who gave them those names never could manage,—to bring them into one community. There were some obstacles, and many facilities. One obstacle was difference of dogmatic opinions on the most important points of religion, such, for instance, as the Eucharist. The counterbalancing facility was, that neither Lutherans nor Calvinists cared much about such things. Terms under such circumstances, are easily adjusted. The Lutheran asserted something—the Calvinist denied it—the plus and minus quantities were placed opposite to each other, and produced = 0; and this was to be the dogma of the Luthero-Calvinist, or evangelical Church. The doctrine on this subject was not to be decided or discussed, but left open; in other words, there was no dogma on it. Such is the Prussian mode of adjusting creeds; sweep away dogma, and you will soon have uniformity.

There were other facilities. Two suppurated surfaces will easily unite; and so, perhaps, it might not be justly considered difficult to bring together, and join closely, two religious systems, which rationalism and infidelity had eaten far into, and disposed for being moulded into any shape, of what was considered merely an outward form, useful for political and social purposes. Where religious convictions have pretty nearly disappeared, and faith has been treated only as a philosophy, and the Bible as a classic, and symbols as dead formularies, and ecclesiastical discipline as a department of civil government, and canons as synonymous with the portfolio of a *Ministre de Culte;* a meeting of the state-council may well stand for a synod, and a cabinet-order for canon law. Sects are brought into union as divisions of the army are brought under one commander,—by a royal mandate; and a new religion is created about as easily as a fresh regiment is raised. In fact, by royal mandate, rather than by any spontaneous aggregation, the evangelical state-religion of Prussia, was *organized*, or, to speak its official language, received "an historical development;" or, in other words, was instituted and made, out of the conflicting and jarring elements of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Having effected, with apparent success, this first amalgamation, the royal government of Prussia pushed its views still further, and resolved to join this coalition of continental Protestantism, in some sort of league or unity, with the better

organized establishment of this country. The project of erecting a joint bishopric at Jerusalem had evidently this in view. The agent employed about it was the same as had been mainly instrumental in managing the former union.

But the Prussian government, as we have already remarked, sought no concealment. Its manifestoes officially announce this intention, as well as other important points. These we will classify.

I. It makes no secret, that in treating with the authorities of the English Church, it treated as with a sister-church, speaking as though on perfectly equal terms. "Accordingly, an union with England, *whose Church, by origin and doctrine, is most intimately akin to the German Evangelical Church*, offered itself as the surest means of attaining so important an end. The proceedings to be instituted for the purpose depended upon the preliminary question, whether Great Britain was inclined to allow justice to be done to the *independence and national honor of the German Evangelical Church*, and to treat this affair *in full harmony* with Prussia, upon the firm basis, that *Evangelical Christianity* should present itself *under the protection of England and Prussia* to the Turkish government *as an unity*." * One is rather inclined to smile at Dr. Hook's tender way of looking at this clear and straightforward statement of the *only* basis on which Prussia condescended to treat with England. He finds a *mistake*

* Prussian State Paper; Hope, p. 74.

in the statement of this document—"the mistake of supposing that an union *does* exist between 'the Evangelical German Church' and the Church of England."

Now the king of Prussia clearly states that he took this as the only firm ground of his negotiation, and therefore we may take it for granted that, as the negotiation succeeded prosperously, the ground was admitted. In fact, we shall have evidence of this. But Dr. Hook thus continues:—"*Our* view of the transaction, and the view taken by Englishmen, is this: that the primate of England, *regarding with paternal affection* the Protestants of Germany(!) has planted an English bishop on neutral ground, there to enter into friendly relations with them; and the excellent king of Prussia *offered to co-operate* with our archbishop, without being fully aware of some difficulties which certainly occur, but which are not, I hope, insurmountable."* All this may be a very charitable, a very amiable, and, moreover, an extremely convenient, view of an awkward business; but as it is not accurate and true, we trust it is not the view taken by Englishmen. What claim have the Protestants of Germany on the paternal affection of his Grace of Canterbury? Who has made him their father in the spirit, seeing that, according to Dr. Hook, "it is not true to state that the Church of England is by origin 'naturally akin to the German Evangelical Church.'"† Surely the arch-

* Reasons, p. 33.

† Ib. p. 31.

bishop does not regard all German Protestants as his children. Moreover, on what semblance of truth is the view founded which makes the "excellent king of Prussia" *offer to co-operate* with the archbishop in a scheme which his majesty expressly tells us he first thought of, first proposed, and was thoroughly prime mover in, from the beginning? Surely this loose way of stating transactions; this twisting round of facts, authentically stated, to gratify theories; this inverting the order of things, to squeeze out of a difficulty, can do little credit to Dr. Hook's case, and must excite a suspicion that the archbishop's part in the transaction must be very perplexing, to require such an explanation.

But the Prussian monarch has no idea of any such claims of Lambeth upon Berlin in the affair. He does indeed establish an affectionate link of parental relationship, but he makes it lie all the other way. It is maternity, and not paternity, that he allows; and it is England, not Germany, that is the child; Germany, not England, the mother. For, having insisted that English and German "Evangelical Christianity" should present to Paynim eyes the goodly spectacle of "an unity;" in other words, that Anglicanism should be exhibited as one form of such "Evangelical Christianity,"—the royal theologian goes on to describe "the Evangelical Church of the German nation *the mother of all Evangelical Confessions*." *

* Hope, p. 77.

And, in fact, if Dr. Hook would take pains to inquire into the ideas and feelings of German divines upon the subject, we are pretty sure that he would find all idea of *paternal* solicitude on the side of Dr. Howley, in the transaction between him and their Protestant king, rejected with scornful indignation. For the Germans do and will consider the Anglican Church as neither more nor less than an offshoot of the German reformation; its fathers, like Cranmer, as the disciples of Luther; its perfecters, like Bucer and Peter Martyr, as thorough-going Germans; and its whole occasion, bearing, tendencies, and spirit, as copied from the continent, with a twofold modification, that *they* spared altars and churches, and we spared bishops; and that while they suppressed the latter, we plundered and demolished the former. The very name implies a common origin: both the Anglican and the Lutheran Churches call themselves "reformed;" and one reformation brought on, and guided, the other.

II. The Prussian government treated *on this basis of kindred union and equality*, not merely with the civil power in England, but with the ecclesiastical, and that in the proper manner. We are told that "steps which have been taken *in order to settle this preliminary question* [*i. e.* the presentation of 'Evangelical Christianity' to the Turks 'as an unity'] have had the most gratifying results." Not only the government of Great Britain showed a decided readiness to approach the

question *upon the grounds proposed, but also the heads of the English Church entered with warm interest into the proposition.*" * From the "Statement of Proceedings" we learn that "the appointment of a bishop for Jerusalem was proposed by his majesty the king of Prussia, who made it a subject of a special mission to the queen of England, and of a particular communication to the archbishop of Canterbury."† If we are rightly informed, a correspondence was carried on upon the subject between the king and the archbishop. And we may again remark, that this statement, "by authority," completely contradicts Dr. Hook's "Englishmen's views."

III. "The heads of the English Church" did not repel these overtures with Catholic indignation, nor startle at the notion of carrying on a joint measure on such a basis. For the official Prussian document, after the last sentence which we have quoted from it, thus proceeds:—"There was an *agreement* [between the negotiating parties, the heads of the Church and the king] *in the conviction that the diversities of Christian worship*, according to tongues and races, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation, *that is to say, in the Evangelical Church* is upheld by a higher unity—the Lord of the Church himself. *And that in this unity, to which all diversities refer themselves as to their point of junction*, rests the ground of true Christian toleration.

* Hope, p. 74. † Page 4.

. . . By means *of a cordial co-operation, directed by this spirit*, a distinct bishopric has now been established in Jerusalem, in which *all evangelical* Christians may find a common support and *point of union* . . . therewith, however, *the German Protestants in particular*, vindicate the independence of their Church in reference to their peculiar confession and liturgy." Now here we have some material points set forth. It is plain, for instance, that the English Church is here considered as an evangelical, *i. e.* a Protestant Church. For the object of the new bishopric is described as being to furnish a point of union to *all* such Christians, certain rights being reserved to the Germans; yet the transaction was one common only to Germans and Anglicans. Secondly, it is to be a *point of union* to the two. It is assumed that there can be union between them; and, in fact, provision is made for it in the arrangements about the new bishopric. Thirdly, in all these views, *in this spirit*, there was *cordial co-operation* between the spiritual heads of the English, and the temporal, or rather the sole, head of the German Protestant, Church,—the authority which by cabinet-orders makes bishops in it. Mr. Maurice, in his letter to deacon Palmer, admits this view; and considers that, bating the thoroughly German phraseology of "historical developments" and so forth, "the English Church" clearly admitted what we attribute to it,—that "the English bishops did acknowledge a common meeting-point with Protestants,

as Protestants, in the confession of Christ, as the head and centre of the Church." This is the obvious meaning of that paragraph.* Finally, the king of Prussia asserts that, in his negotiations with the heads of the English Church, he did not yield anything, but secured, as we have seen, the rights of the German Protestant communion, in regard to its confession and liturgy. But we think it proper to show the light in which these transactions were viewed by the German Protestants and how completely they saw in them a clear recognition of equal rights, fraternity, communion, and the perfect espousals of the two Churches, to be the parents of a new "development" or form of evangelical Christianity. The document which will best explain this popular and national view is a well-known article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which, if not official, bears sufficient marks of its being a popular explanation of the wishes and views of the ruling powers of Protestant Germany, in the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian episcopate in Jerusalem. We quote the greater portion of the document as given by Mr. Palmer.

"The establishment at Jerusalem of an evangelical congregation, with ecclesiastical endowments, and by the protection of England and Prussia, under the guardianship of the Porte, shielded against the oppressions to which evangelical Christians have hitherto been exposed in the East, is a germ of Christianity from which great future results may be anticipated: but as at all times a true spirit of Christian ac-

* Page 53.

tivity without has served to quicken the fruits of faith within, so has this foundation in Jerusalem called into life one of the most momentous appearances ever witnessed by Europe. As two parents in their love towards their child enter into a more exalted union, even so the evangelical Churches of Prussia and England, hitherto divided, have, in this daughter Church of Jerusalem, tendered to each other the true hand of union. It is not contemplated indeed that the English Church should abandon her institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England; but the two Churches, by their recent act, have mutually recognized that, in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are non-essential, the union in spirit the essential; their conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a daughter Church, in which the nomination of the ecclesiastics shall be vested alternately in Prussia and England, in which the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles are recognized as founded in an intimate community of faith; in which the rights of the English and Prussian Churches are to be accepted as the simultaneous expression of one and the same evangelical Christianity. The conquest of Constantine, the fortifying of Paris, the expulsion of a queen from Spain, and a hundred other events that our time has witnessed, may wear a more pompous look, and may, at the first glance, appear of greater importance than this small commencement of an united evangelical congregation at Jerusalem; but whoever is really acquainted with the affairs of the Levant will recognize in this unostentatious commencement the germ of a great development. The grain of mustard-seed will be seen to grow up and to shoot forth its branches: nor can the present age show anything more truly great than this intimate recognition and approach to each other of two brothers —the English nation and the most important race of northern Germany,—nothing nobler than this association of two brothers in the most exalted aim of man. England and Prussia have here found a point of union on which the blessing of God may rest."—P. 15.

Having thus gathered what information we may, from the German party to the transaction, we may see what light may be thrown upon it by domestic authorities.

Two documents may justly claim to be considered as possessing authoritative weight in this matter; the "Statement of Proceedings by Authority," and Dr. Alexander's consecration sermon, preached by Dr. M'Caul, and "published at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury." Dr. Hook says, that he has "a right to assume that the archbishop has pointed out the mistake of the Prussian government" above referred to.* But we must beg to deny this right, for two reasons. *First*, the Prussian government in that document does not *make* "the mistake," but only recounts it as having been made in treating with the archbishop on the basis of the two Churches being a unity, etc.; and it assures us that his grace agreed, and acted with cordial co-operation. Therefore he did not see any mistake, or he neglected to point it out. We cannot suppose the king of Prussia so shameless, as to give this statement to the public, unless pretty secure of its accuracy. *Secondly*, the Prussian document was published November 14, 1841, the archiepiscopal statement on the 9th of December following. Yet this does not correct the error; although surely it was the primate's duty to contradict that account, if erroneous, as publicly as it had been given. We therefore as-

* Page 35.

sume, with all deference to Dr. Hook, that the supposed mistake has not been corrected, and in fact that it was not considered a mistake, but admitted as a fact, by the English metropolitan.

The statement gives us the following admissions: that the king of Prussia had mainly in view "the spiritual superintendence and care of such of his own subjects as might be disposed to join themselves to the Church as formed at Jerusalem;" that it was reasonably hoped that the establishment of such a bishopric "might lead the way to an essential unity of discipline as well as of doctrine, between the Anglican and the *less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe*," which of course signifies that the English Church is the more perfectly constituted Protestant Church; that "the *two* great *Protestant* powers of Europe will have planted *a Church* in the midst of the Eastern Churches;" and that "congregations, consisting of Protestants of the German tongue, willing to submit to the new bishop's jurisdiction, will be under the care of German clergymen, ordained by him."* Two conditions are annexed, which deserve notice. The first is, that the Anglico-German congregations will use "their *national* liturgy, compiled from the ancient liturgies." Dr. Hook expresses himself highly gratified by the statement that the Germans have such a venerable liturgy.† It may therefore be as well to warn others that this lit-

* Pages 6—8.

† Letter, p. 25.

urgy, thus admitted (we may safely ask after what collation or revision?) by the English metropolitan, is the compilation chiefly of Mr. Bunsen, the envoy-extraordinary, sent over to negotiate the appointment of the new bishop, forced on the united Luthero-Calvinist or Evangelical Church by the late king of Prussia—in other words, the composition of a layman, prescribed by none but the civil power! The second condition is, that the ministers of the new churches should sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and give proof of their having previously signed the Confession of Augsburg. How far these two subscriptions are compatible one with another, it is not our province to decide, nor our present object to discuss. Dr. Hook, whose commentary we are still willing to use, thus curiously escapes from the inquiry. "How far Bishop Alexander is himself bound to hold a confession of faith, which he agrees, under certain circumstances, to enforce; *or by what explanations he is, in all points, to reconcile, without evasion, the Thirty-nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession—these are questions to be resolved by his own conscience.*"* To this we leave the matter; no strange one in a Protestant—a most inexplicable one in a Catholic, view of the entire transaction.

Dr. M'Caul's sermon contains some singular theories of apostolical succession; on which we briefly touched in our last number. We have

* Letter, p. 30.

now to deal with his admissions and explanations. From him we gather as follows:—

"It is to be hoped that the bishopric at Jerusalem may become the bond of union between Christians of England and Germany. The Prussian monarch intends to send members of his own Church to Jerusalem to receive orders at the hands of the new bishop, and then to assist in laboring among the Jews, or in ministering to those of their own countrymen who may settle in the Holy Land, subject to the jurisdiction of the new episcopate; and thus in the city of peace and over the tomb of the Saviour, *the national Churches may join the right hand of fellowship, and commence a communion* which, it is to be hoped, will speedily become universal. That *such an union of Protestant Churches* is as desirable as a reunion with the ancient branches of Christ's Church, can be doubted by none, whose desire for Catholic unity is sincere. The charity of him who would exclude, from the sphere of his sympathies, the *Protestant, though sound in the faith*, and court to his embrace those of whom his own Church teaches that they commit 'idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians,' is not the charity of the Gospel. The religion of Christ carefully marks out the difference between the form, even though divinely appointed, and the substance, which is as unchangeable as God himself. And he is but slenderly read in the Gospel who elevates the former to the rank of the first, or even the second, great commandment, or maintains that sacrifice is more acceptable than mercy. If we truly desire the cessation of all schism, and *the reunion of all Christ's believing people*, we must specially desire that *all those, who have been delivered from the errors of Romanism, may be associated in apostolic discipline, as well as doctrine*, and both be united to those Churches of the East, who join in the same protest against papal usurpation. The bishop of the Church of Jerusalem appears as the first-fruits *of an union so* desirable, the emblem of the hearty co-operation of *national Churches*, in extending the kingdom of God."—P. 15.

We must content ourselves with one more document. In the "Queen's Licence" for Dr. Alexander's consecration, we find the following declaration; that Dr. A. has assigned him Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia, as the limits within which he may "exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the *ministers of British congregations* of the united Church of England and Ireland, and over such *other Protestant* congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under his authority."*

Here is no concealment of the important fact, that the avowed object of Dr. Alexander's singular nomination was the cementing together in unity members of the Continental Protestant, and of the Anglican, Church. There is no question of reform or alteration to be insisted upon in the former, as Mr. Palmer would have; but they are spoken of as "*sound in the faith;*" and the entire difference between the two parties seems to be reducible to one of form or discipline. But Dr. M'Caul has forewarned us, in his notes on his sermons, with extracts from another "wonderful document" (p. 16), from "a communication which may be relied upon as authoritative." (P. 7.) It is intimated to us (p. 17) that this is one of the documents connected with the nomination, part of the correspondence between the king (for the document is royal) and the ecclesiastical authorities here. If so, Dr. M'Caul may be presumed to

* Statement p. 15.

have received full permission to publish his extracts from it, as likely to "rejoice every Christian heart." (P. 7.) The following are the passages given from this document, that have reference to our present purpose:—

His Majesty is resolved to do in the Holy Land whatever may be required of him as a Christian, in order there to render possible *a community of action* on behalf of the Gospel. *The Church of England* is, in that country, in possession of a foundation on Mount Zion, and *his majesty considers it as the duty of all Protestant princes and communities to join the foundation, as the beginning and central point of union of Protestant life acting together.*"—P. 10.

"Should not, in particular at the present moment, this be the loving thought of Him who governs His Church, that in the old Land of Promise, on the stage of his earthly life, not only Israel might be brought to the knowledge of salvation, but that, also, *the different Protestant communities, built upon the eternal foundation of the Gospel*, and on the rock of faith in the Son of the living God, forgetting their separations, *conscious of their unity*, might tender to each other, over the tomb of the Saviour, the hand of peace and concord."—P. 16.

It is now time for us to draw a summary of this transaction, so as to condense the line of reasoning, which it has suggested to our minds. A Protestant sovereign, then, who expresses inviolable attachment to the Protestant religion of Germany, addresses the heads of the Anglican Church, and more especially its primate, asking them to assist him in the promotion of an object purely ecclesiastical and religious, that is, the appointment and consecration of a new bishop. He

makes no secret of the terms on which he treats,—the equal rights of his own Church: he presents as the basis of all negotiations, the unity of the two Churches; and, as his object, the creation of a centre of Protestant unity and co-operation. In all his correspondence he considers the Church of England as an evangelical, or Protestant Church. Into this scheme the metropolitan fully and cordially enters; he agrees to consecrate a bishop proposed under such condition: he allows, without contradiction, the official publication of documents which assert his assent to them, and his conviction that the two Churches, though outwardly differing, were yet united in the common, higher headship of Christ; in other words, formed but parts of the same Church. And, moreover, he sends forth his new bishop with authority and permission to admit to orders, members of the other Church, who retain both their liturgy and their confession of faith; that is, who remain the same both in practice and belief, on the sole condition of farther subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles. In other words, assuming with Dr. Hook that the Augsburg Confession is a "humanly-invented system of theology," and "much to be censured;" and the Articles "are not a system of theology" (p. 26); the bishop is sent to govern a flock, one part of which will follow the Anglican, the other the Bunsen, liturgy; the pastors of which will partly be unencumbered by such lumber as an authoritative theological system, and

bear no trammels save the light yoke of the Thirty-nine Articles; the other, farther entangled in the whole complication and definitiveness of the Augustan formulary, bound to teach Lutheranism under an Anglican bishop!

Has not the primate, the first bishop of the Anglican Church, fairly and completely committed himself to Protestantism; entered into fellowship with Protestants, for Protestant purposes, on Protestant grounds, hearing, without protest, Protestant language spoken to him,—answering in the same? Has he not put himself into *active communion* with German Protestantism? And what has his Church said? What have his brother bishops declared? Two of them joined in the ceremony of consecration; the rest were silent, or approved. All have allowed collections for Dr. Alexander to be made through their diocese. Surely had the first bishop of any Church in communion with us so committed himself, the very "stones from the walls would have cried out against it." Can one conceive a Catholic bishop of any age acting so, without forfeiting his title? Our inquiry, then, whether the Anglican Church be Catholic, or Protestant, resolved into this form, "with which class of Christians is she in actual and active communion," seems sufficiently solved. We see her indeed placed in social and religious position somewhat between the two. On the one side is the fair and noble form of her former sister, still sighing and mourning over the infatuation

and estrangement in which she has run her latter course; but still serene of front, majestic of mien, sternly beautiful to the eyes of adversaries, tenderly lovely to the gaze of her many children. The rock on which she stands seems to grow every year more solid beneath her tread; the cross on which she leans seems to shine more brilliantly every day—a standard of faith and a beacon of hope; flowers daily fresh gathered of holiness are scattered round her feet; martyrs' blood, each year newly shed, waters, to fertilize, her sacred courts; and bright crowns, for penance and for chastity, for zeal and for devotion, are woven, as new links, into that chain of testimony, which her saintly children have in every age and in every country stretched between her and themselves in heaven. And still continues, as in olden times, to order the cords of her tabernacle to be enlarged, and its stakes strengthened, because new multidudes are crowding, with sounds of joy, into her precincts; and here she sees her spark, which had well nigh been trodden out by feet of foes, break out once more into cheering light; and there the islands that sat in darkness praise God because they have beheld her brightness. She has no need of others:—she would fain win them all, but she may court none; she will lean over them in motherly caress if they return, but she bends not down to humor their waywardness and caprice. On the other side, is the already decrepit rebel of only three centuries; bearing stamped upon her features the

history of her career, offspring of the loose, coarse, and scoffing mind of Luther, and of the cold, harsh, and heartless fatalism of Calvin; stripped of all the glories of a Church, with preachers for priests, superintendents for bishops, consistories for synods. No nobleness of thought, no elevation of faith, no tenderness of devotion, is to be traced on her countenance; no fervent beam of hope in the future destinies of God's Church kindles up her eye. Coldly refining upon every word of doctrine, profanely sifting every miraculous evidence of love almighty, paring down every goodly fruit of divine revelation by the keen edge of reason to its hardest kernel, and then throwing that away because it *is* hard; till belief in her hands has withered into opinion, duty into expediency, Christianity into an æsthetic system. Chilling, damping, love-killing rationalism broods over her, unless relieved by a scarcely less dangerous human enthusiasm. Now it is between these two that the Church of England has placed herself,—in the *via media*,—somewhat better than the one,—alas! sadly short of the other,—hesitating which she shall greet, to which she shall draw nigh; now weeping over what she has lost, that made her once like her fairer neighbor, now priding herself on what she has retained of ancient beauty and ornament beyond her more degraded companion; and trying how far she can adjust her few remnants and shreds of them, so as best to conceal her present destitution, and appear like her whom she fain

would resemble. Now, on either side she seems inclined to stretch forth her hand, first to the one, and then the other; for she feels herself solitary and desolate. But on the right hand, however she may meet with kind looks of sympathy, of interest, and of hope; however she may see tears of regret shed, and hear prayers for her reconciliation fervently uttered: no sign of recognition is bestowed, no return of proffered fellowship made. She has something to do, which is indispensable, before she can be treated as a friend. But on the left, no sooner is her hand but half held out, than it is caught in warm and hearty greeting, and grasped as if in recognition of ancient intimacy, by one who is proud of the connection, and feels no shame at drawing away to herself, however unworthy, those nobler feelings which should have aspired to a holier and happier alliance. That greeting has been fully returned;—the two have pledged their mutual faith and love, as the king of Prussia desired (we shudder as we write it), over the tomb of our Redeemer; they have declared themselves one—"a unity," "before the Turk," chosen expressly as the witness of the union; the community of purpose and feeling has been openly proclaimed between the two sections of "Evangelical Christianity" in England and in Prussia; ecclesiastical communion has been asked and granted between them; and Bishop Alexander is the first "bishop" whose flock is to consist of Anglo-German Protestants.

This is a sad, a miserable, an humiliating spectacle; and yet we rejoice at it. We rejoice at it, not in a spirit of cruel triumph, but in the spirit of heavenly hope and charity. There surely are some in that Church who will not stand this new thwarting of their expectations, that the Catholic elements, yet remaining in it, would overbalance the grosser parts of error and schism—its Protestant ingredients—and rise gloriously above them. But in vain! Their whole episcopate is Protestant to the core, bark and pith, root and bough—all eaten into, and hollowed, and hopelessly destroyed by this same canker-worm; and it is useless to hope for Catholicism from it. Mr. Palmer may plead his individual liberty of anathematizing Protestantism as a heresy; Dr. Hook may warn us that the bishops without the presbyters do not represent the Church.* In this matter they are plainly mistaken. In *convocation* to vote money, or for legal purposes, the lower house may be necessary; but, for ecclesiastical objects, they are clearly not; not for a synod, nor for judgments on faith, nor for enacting of laws and canons. And still more in relation to intercommunion between Churches, the bishops, and they alone, have power and authority.† The whole

* Page 14.

† "Episcopi sunt caput communionis suarum diœceseon, quam cum aliis Ecclesiis conservant, *Presbyterorum vero communio pendet ab Episcoporum suorum communione.* Eam ob causam prohibitum olim erat Presbyteris ne literas formatas aut communicatorias darent."—De Marca, De Concordia, col. 1134.

Church is there in communion where its bishops communicate.

One point only now remains. May not the archbishop, and the bishop of London (the heads of the Church of England) have been deceived, or unwarily drawn into this false step; or, in other words, were they not led to adopt it, without sufficiently adverting to its doctrinal bearings? We might have, perhaps, thought so, but for subsequent manifestations of their sentiments. They have both given proof,—that they do not consider, first, apostolical or episcopal succession as the essence of a Church; so that the Protestant Churches of Germany may be really Churches without it: secondly, that in their opinion most probably they are true Churches: thirdly, that persons ordained by simple presbyters, or not ordained at all, may, under some circumstances, validly administer sacraments. We take the archbishop's views from a sermon on "the apostolical succession," by Dr. Hawkins, at the consecration of the bishop of Chichester, on February the 27th of this year. This is stated on the title-page to be "printed *at command* of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury." To him it is likewise dedicated, for that very reason. We presume, therefore, that the primate considered its doctrine wholesome, and meet to be circulated among his flock. After having laid down some presumptive arguments against the *necessity* of the episcopacy

or apostolical succession, the learned preacher thus proceeds:—

"But with us a much stronger presumption against it, although still only a presumption, ought to be the silence of the Church of England. Declaring, in the clearest terms, what she judged *right* for herself, she carefully abstains from asserting that the apostolical order which she preserved is *essential* to the being of a Church. That her services of consecration and ordination are complete, and not ungodly;—that all her ministers ordained accordingly are rightly ordered and consecrated,—she maintains modestly, but without reserve.* That none but those who are thus ordained, or who have formerly had episcopal consecration or ordination, shall be accounted lawful ministers in the Church of England, she explicitly declares. She is distinct and precise as to the method to be pursued, both 'that these orders may be continued,' and that they 'may be reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England.'† And all this definite and unreserved declaration of what she accounted right for herself, renders the contrast so much the more marked, when her statements concerning 'the Church,' and concerning 'ministering in the congregation,' and 'the unworthiness of ministers,' are so framed and cautiously guarded, that, excluding indeed the ministry of self-appointed teachers (which would be destructive of all order, and overthrow the very nature of a Christian society,) they apply to any Church,—and the ministry of any Church,—nay, might even apply to congregations of separatists, who had conscientious grounds for their separation.‡ And this we are wont to ascribe, perhaps, to the great charity and moderation of the Church of England. Yet, would it really deserve these excellent names had the great and good men to whom we owe her Articles and her polity, been indeed convinced that her orders were essential to Christianity, *and episcopacy necessary to the very efficacy of the blessed sacraments?—Rather let us say, that*

* Art. xxxvi. † Preface to Ordination Services.

‡ Arts. xix. xxiii. xxvi.

they did not declare this doctrine, because they did not believe it to be true; or, at the least, that they could not declare this doctrine, because they had no scriptural warrant for asserting its truth. 'Christ's Gospel is not a ceremonial law;' that was a position clearly before the minds of our reformers.* But even had the Gospel been a law of ceremonies, so far as it has any ritual or ceremonial, or any other positive institution, still, before we may assert that any positive institution is *essential*, we must have some clear warrant of revelation for our assertion. *This appears to be the true reason why the necessity of any apostolical succession cannot be maintained.* If it be admitted that the whole doctrine of the succession relates not to an eternal truth, but to a positive institution, in its own nature alterable, nothing less than the clearly declared will of its Founder can make it unalterable and essential. But we look in vain to holy writ for any clear warrant for this doctrine. 'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.' 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'† Were the doctrine clearly warranted by the inspired Scriptures, would divines rely upon texts like these to prove it? As if, because our Lord undoubtedly sent forth His apostles as the Father had sent Him, therefore He gave them a commission altogether like His own, and a similar transmission, and no other, of the same authority must be continued for ever;—or as if, because it is justly argued that the abiding presence of Christ is not promised only to his apostles, but to the Church through them, therefore it is promised only through those who should succeed in one, and one only way to a portion of the apostolic office. Until some authority from holy writ shall be produced, far more express and clear, not merely to prove the use or the need of a Christian ministry (which is not the present question), but declaring that an episcopal succession is essential to a true Christian ministry, and a ministry essential to the efficacy of the blessed sacraments,

* Preface to the Liturgy (1548.) "Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained."

† Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; John xx. 21.

it is not for us, I apprehend, to be more peremptory in our assertions than the Scriptures themselves, nor must we call that essential or unalterable, which has not been declared to be so by our Lord or His apostles."—Pp. 16—21.

This is pretty nearly the reasoning of Dr. Channing, in his Discourse on the Church (p. 7). After remarking that a hierarchy was established by the apostles, Dr. Hawkins thus continues:—

"What was good and right under the apostles, nay, as all must admit, was *best* for the then condition of the Church, must be good and right still, unless altered circumstances demand a change. But this is widely different from denying the validity of their orders, or doubting the efficacy of their sacraments. Nay, as to the efficacy of the Christian sacraments, although no reasonable person questions the propriety, I had almost said the necessity, of restricting their administration to persons duly appointed; *yet we have no warrant to ascribe their efficacy in any way to the office of the administrator.* The Church of England has, indeed, been sometimes supposed to hold a different language. But while she has said, and reasonably said, that 'we may use the ministry' even of unworthy ministers, 'both in hearing of the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments,' because they minister 'not in their own name, but in Christ's, and 'by his commission and authority;' nevertheless she has not ascribed 'the effect of Christ's ordinance' to their commission, but has stated expressly that the sacraments are 'effectual because of Christ's institution and promise,' though ministered by evil men.*

"The Church of England, in a word, has not ruled a point of faith beyond the Scriptures; and the Scriptures maintain upon the subject an expressive and instructive silence; and chiefly, which is remarkable, upon the connection of that sacrament with the office of the priest, which has been the most rigidly confined to his administration. 'The

* Art. xxvi.

cup of blessing which we bless.'—Suppose, what appears extremely probable, that the apostle, when he was present, blessed the cup, or the presiding presbyter in his absence; we cannot infer from this that it might not be blessed by any other. 'We are stewards of the mysteries of God.'—Be it so that 'mysteries' here relate to the blessed sacraments—which is, however, most uncertain—and that none but the presbyter, subsequently at least to the disorders at Corinth, was accustomed to dispense the Eucharist, which is most probable, this does not prove that its efficacy is made to depend upon his administration, and that it may not be dispensed by others. 'Do this in remembrance of me.'—Still less does it follow that a sentence like this addressed by our Lord to His apostles concerning that *commemoration* of His sacrifice, which should be as dear to every Christian as to them, affects the *administration* of the rite by themselves, or by those alone who derive a commission from their successors.* What therefore, if some of our own, or of much earlier divines, if Hilary or Jerome, or even early councils,† have dropped incautious expressions, or held uncompromising theories upon the point; or what if Ignatius may appear to have laid it down that there is no valid Eucharist without the administration of the bishop, or of one to whom the bishop has committed the charge; nevertheless, this is not sufficient authority. Even assuming, what I apprehend is extremely doubtful, that they always intended to declare a doctrine, and not merely to establish a point of order; still neither their authority, nor any other inferior to that of the inspired Scriptures, is of force to raise a point of order into an article of Faith."—Pp. 23.—24.

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* 1 Cor. x. 16.; iv. 1 (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11); Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 34.

† See Bingham's Antiq. b. ii. c. xx. s. viii.; Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrneans, s. viii.; and the notes in Mr. Jacobson's edition, pp. 414, 415. Ignatius probably was not speaking of the *validity* of the Sacrament, but of Christian *unity* under the bishop.

Such sentiments and doctrines are all that could have possibly been demanded or desired by the king of Prussia in the English Church. And, if it be not rash or presumptuous to suppose that the archbishop approved of the principles which he commanded to be printed, we can have no hesitation in admitting, or supposing, that he found no difficulty in treating with the Protestants of Germany, as with a Church, in which was true administration of sacraments without a priesthood, and lawful ministers without episcopacy. In fact the presumption is greatly in favor of this view.

The bishop of London's testimony is still more valuable; both because he speaks for himself, and because he applies his reasoning to the very case of the foreign Protestants. His lordship's three sermons on the Church were delivered during last Lent, and therefore since the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric. In the first, he gives his general view of the Church, with which we have not at present to deal. The second sermon treats of the government of the Church, and is directed to prove that the episcopal form is apostolical, and ought therefore to be preserved. The third approaches our subject. After some preliminary matter, the learned bishop propounds the question, —whether their episcopal form of Church-government, "having possessed for 1500 years that characteristic of truth, the being held of divine authority always, everywhere, and by all men, is so obligatory upon Christians, that no congregation of

believers, *not* being under this form of government, can be a true branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church? This is a question," he continues, "of some difficulty." * We own we do not see it, if viewed *Catholicly*. "Quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod unique," being supposed, or admitted, there can only be one solution: such a congregation is *not* a true branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. None but a Protestant could hesitate. After making a distinction between Dissenters in England and foreign Protestants, of course to the disadvantage of the former, the bishop thus proceeds:—

"But the members of any one of the other reformed non-episcopal Churches to which I have alluded, do *not* separate themselves from *any* Church; nor, if they quitted their own Church, is there any episcopal Church in their country to which they could unite themselves; and, therefore, as long as their own Church holds the essentials of doctrine, they continue therein, and are in no sense schismatics. Their own Church may not be in that perfect communion with the Catholic Church, which would subsist, if there were a unity of discipline *as well as of doctrine*; it may be the duty of their Church to desire that unity, and to take steps for its restoration; and it may be the duty of individual members of that Church to promote that happy consummation by all prudent and peaceable methods: but in the meantime.... I dare not pronounce that Church to be cut off altogether from the mystical body of Christ; and I am sure that none of its *members* are chargeable with the guilt of schism, who do not thwart and impede the efforts of the Church itself to assimilate its government and discipline to the apostolical model.

"That the apostolical model *ought* to be followed by *every*

* Page 52.

local Church I have no manner of doubt; but if I find entire branches of the great Christian family living under a different form of government, deprived of the advantages of episcopacy, in the first instance not by their own fault, but through the tyranny and obstinacy of the Church of Rome refusing them those advantages (!); being also in that state of dependence upon the secular power, I cannot consent to speak of those communities as being altogether aliens from the Church of Christ, nor to deal with them as though they were entirely destitute of the privileges which belong to it. I pity and lament their want of some of those privileges: and I pray that *they* too may *feel* that want, and that the great Head of the Chruch may bring them into the full perception and enjoyment of those privileges; but I dare not *think* of them, still less *speak* of them, as heretics, or schismatics; I dare not pronounce them, as such, excommunicate; and I tremble at the arrogance and uncharitableness which presume to deal out anathemas against those *who deny no one fundamental point of faith*, but who are defective (it may be questioned whether by their own fault) in the form of their government, and as connected therewith, in the clear and indisputable succession of their ministry."—P. 54.

The bishop then goes on to quote the testimony of learned authorities in his Church, to prove that the essentials, though not the perfection, of a Church, may be possessed without episcopal government; and gives instances of her bishops being satisfied with ordination conferred by inferior clergy. For this part of the argument we must refer to the sermon itself. In the course of the argument, "the interdicts and anathemas of hasty and ill-judging men" (Mr. Palmer, we presume), are again reproved, and the bishop concludes his reasoning by the following indulgent comprehensive, and truly Protestant declaration.

"Yet, although none of the excuses which have been urged for the want of apostolical government in some national Churches can be pleaded in justification of those who separate from our own episcopal Church, I would not pronounce, even upon *them*, the sentence of absolute exclusion from the Church of Christ, nor declare that they are beyond the pale of salvation."—P. 73.

We think enough has been said, to show how thoroughly congenial the spirit which prompted the Prussian monarch to ask for co-operation from the heads of the English Church in an ecclesiastical matter, was the spirit in which he was met; how fully justified he was in treating upon a footing of equality with such bishops, and how reasonably we may conclude that the English Church, through them, not inadvertently, but with eyes wide open, entered into religious communion with foreign Protestants, and thus virtually pronounced herself Protestant. Here indeed we ought to close; but, like the Jews of old, we love not to conclude with unpleasant topics, nor in condemnatory phrase. Hope springs up, phœnix-like, from the ashes of deep humiliation, and we cannot but fondly trust that these low alliances of their supposed ecclesiastical leaders, will make many turn their thoughts towards that true Mother Church, which looks indeed upon them with parental affection, and beckons them to her bosom. *There* they may depend upon no man's presuming to brand them with the opprobrious name of "Protestant;" and there they will find the charms and sympathies of an extended com-

munion, unequivocal in its principles, as sweet and glowing in its exercise. As proof that yearnings after such a blessing do exist, we will quote two passages from a recent publication, which we gladly take this opportunity of recommending to our readers; entitled, "Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches, and among Foreign People." By F. W. Faber, M.A. It abounds in fervent and highly-wrought passages, full of good feelings, though of course not free from many usual prejudices, and misunderstandings of Catholic practice. The speaker, in the following extract, is an imaginary and somewhat fanciful person, called "The Man of the Middle Ages." We need not say that we mean not to agree in all the sentiments of the passage; we are content to accept it as an expression of ripening feelings, and as an augury of brighter times.

"'Behold!' continued he, raising his voice, while his face kindled with solemn enthusiasm, 'behold, all hearts are turned towards Rome, all eyes fixed upon her in love, hope, fear, and inquiry. Long has her mysterious character been seen, in that men could not feel indifference towards her as towards a common city, but either fond love or bitter hatred has been her portion from every one who cared for the cross at all. The contracted limits and narrow sympathies of national Churches are again being destroyed. Gallicanism, that vile, unworthy, and disloyal child of the selfish Sorbonne, is now scattered forever to the four winds of heaven; and the fresh waters imprisoned by the salt sea in your own island are bursting down their barriers, with a sound to which all Europe listens. Oh, by the beauty of old Catholic England! Oh, by the memory of the old Saxon saints! I implore you, as a priest consecrating in the shrines of Au

gustine and of Anselm to seek daily to feel, and realize, and lean upon the Church Catholic, through and beyond your own national branch; throw yourself, with a bold meekness into the capacious sympathies and magnificent affections of the Church universal; hide yourself in the mighty beating of her universal heart. Are there none to set you an example, none whose meek humility and love of discipline can correct the vehement and untutored zeal which tempts those who walk in a new path?' 'Oh, yes,' I replied, 'there are lowly-minded men even in proud England, whose leaning on the Church Catholic is as bold and trustful as your own; we have men still, who walk in our cloisters, singing of the king's daughter, and extolling her golden vesture.'"—P. 623.

"I trust such sweetness may win many among you from a narrow-hearted idolatry of a national Church; for most deep and true, most solemn and most tender, is their love for their own Church, who gaze from the steeples of her beloved street upon the mighty city of squares, domes, abbeys, palaces, and glistening pinnacles, which is outspread beyond her and around her; and in the centre of that city, like to a most gorgeous citadel, stands the form of old Rome. See, after long neglect, how all the children of the earth, one after another, even those who are not called by her name, rise up and uncover themselves in her princely presence. O ye sons of Rome! ye children of august forefathers! O ye townsmen of the immortal city!—wherefore have ye blocked up the avenues to the city of peace, with your new unsightly portalice? Why have ye impeded the highways, and broken up the pavements, and left undrained the marshes, that the provincials cannot come? See the whole world burns to fling itself, in one spontaneous wave of pilgrimage, upon the capital."—P. 624.

UNREALITY

OF

ANGLICAN BELIEF.

[From the *Dublin Review* for January, 1847.]

ART. VIII.—*The Scandal of Permitted Heresy, and a Violated Discipline. An Address delivered to the Congregation of St. Martin's, Liverpool, on Sunday before Easter*, 1846. By the Rev. CECIL WRAY, M.A. Liverpool: 1846.

ASSUMING that the Catholics and the Anglicans have been, or have considered themselves, in a state of conflict for some three centuries on matters of religion, a curious change has certainly taken place in their relative positions. Till the other day, it was thought by all who chose to enter into controversy against us, a notable distinction, a real honor, to be able to put the whole heavens between themselves and us. The wider they could show the gulf between us and them, so that they might not come to us, nor we go to them, the more praise they believed they were giving to their own establishment. They were moreover, always the aggressors; we were put on the defensive.

Now, however, it is quite otherwise. By far the most respectable of those who write in defence of Anglican doctrines, now plainly sail on an opposite tack. They attempt in every way to prove how much, not how little, of Catholic (Roman) doctrine their Church retains; they exaggerate points of resemblance, not points of difference; they strive to make their opinions look as Tridentine as possible; they catch hold of every stray expression in their formularies, or Prayer-book, or Catechism, and build top-heavy theories of faith upon it. In this way, priestly absolution and sacramental confession, the real presence, communion with the Church triumphant, and many other such doctrines are vindicated to the Establishment. For it is thought a great gain to prove, merely that the English Church has not condemned certain doctrines and practices; and this is even considered equivalent to sanctioning them. We think it needless to refer to examples, or to quote direct proofs. Every one acquainted with the recent controversies, whether dogmatical or liturgical, about the Articles or the surplice, will remember many instances of the small grounds that sufficed, for concluding that the Anglican Church had not rejected, or disapproved of, a given doctrine. And even yet, some unlucky curate is now and then caught in spiritual trespass upon Roman ground, and called to task, not by the owner of the land, but by his own master, the bishop given him by the law. Such has lately

been the misfortune, as we shall see, of the Rev. Mr. Bittleston at Leamington.*

We cannot but think, that the more such dreamy theorists are undeceived the better for themselves, and for those whom they lead in their errors. And there seems to us to be one plain and common-sense way of doing this. The readers of this review, and of almost everything which recent converts have written on theology, must have been struck by the frequent use of a word, but lately introduced into religious discussion, in its various grammatical forms.

The noun is REALITY; the verb to REALIZE.

It is by means of these words that we intend, in this article, to bring the question between us and the would-be Anglo-Catholics to issue. They are the talismanic formula whereby we desire, God helping, to dispel their delusion. But we are aware that these words want explanation; and especially to Catholics, who have had no experience of their contraries (their best interpreter)—of *unreal* doctrine, of *unreality* in religion. We trust, however, that in explaining the terms, as we shall do by illustration more than by definition, we shall show in what way they may become controversial tests.

Strange as it may seem, we can with propriety apply their negative forms to things as solid as stone, and as palpable as a church steeple. The stone altar set up in the round church at Cambridge

* [Since a convert to the Catholic Church.]

was *unreal ;* the crosses on the gables or spires of newly-erected Anglican churches are *unreal.* One and all the Camden Society's prettinesses and quaintnesses, and mediæval restorations, with their accompanying discussions and essays, were and are, so far as regards Anglicans, an *unreality.* How? it will be asked. Why simply thus: That stone-work was real enough to cost a great deal, and almost to sink the society which erected it, like to a millstone round its neck; but as an *altar* it represented nothing, it was a symbol of nothing, it obeyed nothing; it connected itself with nothing true in the minds of beholders, which could at once make them feel it right, and necessary, and full of meaning, that it should be of stone. Ten thousand Protestants may have looked at it, and only wondered *why* there was a stone *communion-table :* it would seem to them *uncomfortable,* cold, unsuited for its purpose, different from what was usual. Perhaps some would like it because it was pretty, others because it looked old, a few more because it was solid and business-like: alas! how few would enter into the *real* feelings of the question! Probably not one Camden-man, in a hundred regular subscribers, ever got beyond the mere archæology of the thing. Was there one who rejoiced to see an *altar* of stone, because the Church from the beginning celebrated her mysteries upon the slab which covered a martyr's tomb; one who therefore bethought him of the mystical altar from beneath which the souls of the slain for Christ cry aloud?*

* Rev. vi. 9.

[If such a one there was, how *unreal* his feeling in a Church which despises, carps at, and has destroyed such relics.] Was there one who saw, in this stone altar, the *reality*, of which the symbol, and prophetic type, were in the anointed stone of Bethel,* in the built-up altar of Moses in the wilderness,† in the altar of hewn and unpolished stones on Mount Hebal,‡ and in the twelve stones built into an altar by Elias on Carmel?§ one who, considering the whole burnt-offerings offered on these as typical only of the spotless Lamb immolated daily in true sacrifice on the Church's altar, looked on *this* as likewise a reality compared with those, and saw the propriety of carrying out the relation between them, even in material resemblance? Or was there one who more simply and catholicly held and felt, that the altar should be of stone because the Church of old, for the foregoing or any other reasons, decreed, and still enforces the decree, that *sacrifice* shall not be offered up on any altar save one of stone, anointed like that of Jacob, enriched with martyr's relics, like those of the catacombs;‖ making but one glorious exception in favor of the wooden altar of the Lateran basilica, as being that whereon St. Peter performed the sacred rites, according to the Roman liturgy?

In other words, a Catholic altar *must* be of

* Gen. xxviii. 18. † Exod. xxiv. 4.
‡ Deut. xxvi. 5, 6. § 3 Reg. xviii. 31.
‖ Cap. xxxi. et xxiv. De Consec. Dist. i.

stone; a Protestant communion-table *should* be of wood. To make the latter of stone, because our ancient Catholics did, without one feeling or principle which obliged them to do so, is *unreal:* it is making a plaything of religion. If a man were to make himself a crown, however costly, and put it on his head, and think that this made him a king, we should either pity or laugh at him; we should tell him that, in spite of gold, and jewels, and shape, his crown was not a *real* crown; and so, in spite of materials and workmanship, the stone altar at Cambridge was no reality.

In like manner the practice, now becoming general, of placing the cross on the top of church-gables and spires is no less unreal. It has no meaning in a religion which shows no honor to the cross. A cross so placed speaks nothing to the people; the passer-by never salutes it with uncovered head; the clergyman has no "O crux, ave," as he looks upon it: it is an ornament, a finish to a point, and nothing more—a fleur-de-lis, a finial of any sort, would do as well, and mean as much. And the same must be said of the entire mass of Camden restorations: *sedilia* on which no one sits; *piscinæ* into which no ablution is poured; candlesticks which never hold a light; crosses which dare not bear the effigy of Him who gave the symbol its worth; screens that inclose nothing hallowed or mystical. They are but unmeaning toys, as completely out of place as an open kiosk would be in a Swedish house. It is not long since we entered a

Protestant church, built according to the full rules of church restorers. We found there all these appurtenances, and inquired of an intelligent clerk, who showed the place, what was the meaning of the sedilia. He did not know. Did any one sit there? The bishop did in one at the consecration. No one since? No. Then what are they for? "I don't know," was the natural answer. This proved that, as "*sedilia*," the three seats in the chancel wall had no *reality*

But this is a low standard of the meaning of this term; we will therefore ascend from mere material objects to religious practices; and it will not be difficult to show that the attempt to transplant these from the Catholic, to the Anglican Church, deprives them at once of reality. Let us, by way of illustration, suppose, that a physician were to say, according to the assertion of all his friends, that he possessed a sure, unfailing remedy for a baneful disease—the Asiatic cholera for instance. The disorder, in course of time, assails the town in which he resides, and commits fearful ravages on every side. Rich and poor fall a prey to the fatal pestilence. The physician, through his friends, is still boasted of, as holding the secret of cure. Now surely is the time to test how far he *really* believes himself to have it. Does he proclaim aloud that he possesses it? Does he invite all who are sick to come to him if able, to send for him if not? Does he seek for patients, run to and fro in search of opportunities to heal? Does he

instruct all who apply to him, and even all who are exposed to the infection, how to employ his medicine, so that its effects may be secured? And do those who comply with his prescriptions feel that they recover, and regain strength? Let us say that he does nothing of the sort; that, on the contrary, he remains with his arms folded; that, in general, his exhortations to his fellow-townsmen are confined to such common-place instructions as any one else would give, on the fatal character of the complaint, the necessity of avoiding contagion, and a simple treatment by common methods; though occasionally and very guardedly, he does seem to intimate that he *could* cure, if he chose. But when any one applies to him for this special remedy, he only very sparingly and most cautiously and secretly attempts it. Would any one in his senses believe that, unless that physician was an arrant rogue, he in his heart and soul thought himself possessed of that wonderful secret—in other words, that he *realized* his own assertions of belief in it?

Now let us apply this to the Anglican, and to the Catholic, Church respectively. Either is the physician; sin is the disease. It has spread like a pestilence—it is almost universal. Each Church says: "I have the power to forgive sins," to heal every one attacked by this plague. Which *realizes*, shows perfect confidence in the belief of holding this power? The Catholic Church loudly proclaims it; from the child at the font, to the dying

man of fourscore, she claims all for her patients. She tells them that she can, and she will, forgive them in God's name. Every catechism, every pious book, every retreat, every mission, almost every sermon, teaches and preaches like John, remission of sin. Every condition is definitely stated, every form accurately set down, every circumstance minutely detailed. Her ritual contains the full description of the mode of acting, for physician and patient; her libraries are full of learned tomes on every case that may present itself; her disciples are trained in schools expressly for the purpose of treating each with discriminating accuracy. Every church and chapel has a place for the administration of this remedy, at all hours; the confessional is as visible and intelligible as the font. A child of seven knows what it is for; the prince and the beggar kneel side by side at it (real sickness levels all ranks), and both leave it with equal assurance of cure.

Now for the Anglican Church, we have only to put a negative before each member of the foregoing paragraph, and we have its claims to consciousness of a similar power. She tells her ministers that "whose sins they shall forgive, they are forgiven;" but how, when, where, heaven knows; she does not condescend to tell them. Her friends say: "Oh, certainly she gives us the form of absolution in her Visitation of the Sick, and this is meant to be our guide. The absolution is there to follow confession, *ergo*, in every other case.

Therefore confession is not only permitted, but enjoined, by our Church." Contrast *this* proof with the clear, definite, universal, loud, and varied proclamation of the Catholic Church, and see which acts with real conviction of possessing this heavenly power. But the best of it is, that so soon as any of those who say this, venture to act upon it, they may expect to receive such enlightenment upon the subject as the following, which the bishop of Worcester has just addressed to one of his clergy, for venturing to absolve after confession.

"So with regard to Confession: our Church, in the invitation to Communion, certainly recommends those 'whose consciences are burthened, to open themselves to some discreet and learned minister,' but it is equally certain that it discourages the practice of *private* Confessions, except in such cases of *burthened* consciences. This appears, as I before stated to you, from the omission in the second prayer-book of Edward the Sixth (which only is our guide at the present day), of those words which originally stood as part of the rubric, immediately antecedent to the form of absolution, directed to be used in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, 'And the same form of Absolution shall be used in all private Confessions,' which words occur in the first prayer-book of Edward the Sixth, but were *designedly omitted* in the second. But, besides, no one can be acquainted with the history of the Reformation, without being aware that the abuses of private Confession were among the principal causes of it; and it cannot, therefore, be supposed that our Reformers intended to sanction a practice which, in their estimation, had been so fruitful of baneful consequences as to justify such a division in the Church. When, therefore, a clergyman, on the strength of the passage in the invitation to Communion, to which I have referred, holds

a sort of private confessional in his own house, and admits thereto young females, however careful he may himself have been distinctly to avoid any allusion that could be a cause of offence, yet he thereby opens a door to a practice, in which indiscreet or ill-disposed persons might teach others evil hitherto unknown to them, by questioning them upon those points which have justly given such umbrage in the practice of the Roman Catholic Church; and in so doing, he must surely be considered guilty of indiscretion."

* * * * * *

"So also the form of Absolution in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, was probably retained with a view to the case of those who might derive comfort on their death-beds, from the use of a form to which they had been accustomed. That clergyman is, however, guilty of indiscretion, who upon the authority of this form, and by partial or over-strained statements, conveys the impression to his hearers that he is authorized personally to absolve from sin, instead of simply declaring and pronouncing such absolution to be promised and conveyed through him by God, in the event of our faith and repentance." *

When a bishop thus chides those who act upon the assumption of power being in his Church to forgive sins, and even explains away the grounds, crumbling as they are, on which the fragile theory reposes, who will say that this Church, as such, realizes the doctrine of forgiveness being with her? No call, no instruction, for the people; no training, no teaching for the pastor: no place, no time appointed for the two to meet—surely all this is incompatible with a real belief in the heart of the English Church, that she is the depositary

* Letter to the Rev. H. Bittleston, dated Nov. 17, 1846; published by authority in the *Leamington Courier* of Nov. 28.

of so marvellous a gift, so sublime a ministry, so needful a medicine, so universal a boon; a power not given to angels, nor to angel-like men in either dispensation, but reserved to her. It is cruel to believe that she is conscious of such power, and does not use it, and has not used it for three hundred years. It is awful to think that anything calling itself a Church could fold up such a talent in a napkin, and bury it. And yet the only alternative to this is, putting it out to use and interest, which clearly she has not done.

The contrast, however, between the conduct of the two Churches will abundantly show which *realizes* a belief in the power ministerially to forgive sins; which gives proof of consciousness and confidence; which carries out these feelings into perfect action, and gives them *reality*.

Passing over many illustrations which we might here introduce, let us rather go on to the more important part of our subject, that which regards more directly dogma, or abstract belief. It is in reference to this, that the two systems are most strongly contrasted. We see in the one every evidence of true, thorough, brim-full, and overflowing conviction of a doctrine; a conviction which speaks not in set phrase or on given occasions, but which betrays itself in a thousand casual expressions, in words dropped almost unthinkingly; in gestures, in attitudes, in dumb signs; which comes out as it were by chance, or rather naturally, where men cannot be supposed

to be thinking of theology; and not only where *men* speak and act, but where children, yea babes and sucklings, lisp thoughts that seem rather instilled and inspired by baptismal faith than taught by human agency; in fine, which has become so completely a part of the stock of every-day thought with all, that it comes out unawares, and in such vivid, truth-bearing phrase as startles one of less lively apprehension and conviction, and seems to him almost profane. This is the character of Catholic belief.

On the other side we find the same doctrine perhaps taught, or said to be taught; but the expression of it is equivocal, balancing between contraries, vague, hazy, and perplexing to disciples, as well as embarrassing to teachers; and the supposed belief in it does not pervade the system, does not show itself in indirect words, but depends upon certain formal (real or imaginary) declarations, perhaps on some dubious phrase, made out by ingenious deductions. It affects only the learned; common minds and common men hardly know it, little care about it; no one acts upon it, or by it, unconsciously, as if it were a first principle, a necessary root of action; it never comes out as it were by accident, never shows itself in homely ways. Such is the character of Anglican, or Anglo-Catholic, doctrines.

The first is evidence of *reality*, the second of unreality. Let us prove this.

As we have done before, we will illustrate this

part of our investigation by an example. A Hindoo says he believes in the transmigration of souls of men into the bodies of animals. Now if he really believes, the natural consequences of such belief must be so varied as to give us a good test of its reality. It follows that the soul of a friend, a relation, or an ancestor, may be animating any animal that comes in his way; he must naturally forbear to hurt it; and this he does. But kindness towards our fellow-beings will carry us much further; and it is the soul, not the body, that is the object of real sympathy. Therefore when sick or wounded, the meanest brute will be thought worthy of tender care; for it contains the soul of a fellow-man, perhaps of a former friend. And this is even so. But further, this will make the taking of animal life, even for the purpose of food, little better than murder; and consequently the believer in this absurd doctrine is content to live on his rice, through all his days, rather than commit so dreadful a crime. Then besides all this consistency, which proves his belief to be so real, that it carries him, without effort, but as by a natural principle, through all these consequences, you cannot take him unawares on the subject, so as to entrap him into expressions at variance with his creed. It is as natural to him as if born with him; he speaks by it, he acts on it, he lives in it. It gives rise to a thousand incidents, rites, and feelings, in his religious, civil, and domestic life. Now, on the other hand, we

once knew a German gentleman of education, who pretended at least to believe this doctrine. We say pretended; for it would only be by discussion and formal discourse on the subject, that one could have learnt that he held it. At other times he would shoot his bird, eat his mutton, or flog his horse, like any good Christian. Who does not see that the one has a *real* belief in the doctrine, and the other only a fancy for, or an affectation of, it?

But let us come to an example of what we have asserted, an example that will make it good on both sides. And we will choose no unimportant one—the doctrine of the Eucharist, as held in the Catholic Church, and as attributed by the High-churchman to the Anglican. To a certain distance we may run the parallel together between them; but after that we shall find but negatives or silence on one side, with an ever-flowing stream of evidences on the other.

I. If any one wishes to know the Catholic doctrine respecting the real presence of our Blessed Lord in the Eucharist, he can have no difficulty in getting at it. From the penny catechism put into the child's hand, to the ponderous folio of theology over which the scholar pores, and through every intermediate stage of Catholic literature, of whatever country, in whatever language, you find the same clear, explicit definition of our doctrine. You are told that the sacred body and blood of our Divine Lord and Saviour are truly

and really *present* in the Eucharist; that He is whole under each species or form; and that the substance of the bread and wine are changed into that body and blood. In other words, and more compendiously; where before were bread and wine, there is in their place Christ our Lord. A presence is thus taught as real and complete as was visible to the eyes of the apostles, when our Lord was on earth.

Now let us look on the other side; and we do not hesitate to say that the Catholic hymn, "*Lauda Sion*," in spite of the trammels of very short verse and frequent rhyme, gives a more clear dogmatic statement of our doctrine, than Anglican Catechism, Articles, and Prayer-book put together, do of theirs. For rather, these only help to dilute and even neutralize each other. The Catechism tells us that the "body and blood of Christ are verily taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and the Articles inform us that this "body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, *only* after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." Out of these two texts, the Anglican has to make out the teaching of his Church on this most vital doctrine, the one on which individual holiness may be said to depend. So beautifully balanced are the two authorities, so nicely contradictory, that they lead to the holding in the same Church, with perfect impunity, of exactly opposite doctrines. The

Puseyite maintains, that his Church teaches as real a presence of our Lord in "the Supper," as the Catholic Church asserts in her "Blessed Eucharist;" the Evangelical, on the contrary, is as positive that there is no real presence at all, but only a symbolical and spiritual one. Now it is true that we have not to deal, at present, with the latter, but only with the former, the easily satisfied believer, who asserts that these two passages blended together, produce a sufficient definition of our Saviour's real presence; but yet we may ask, can any one bring himself to think, that a Church which *really* believed in so awful, yet so sweet, a mystery, in so sublime a combination of might and love, would teach it to her children in so slovenly a way, would put weights so equal into each scale of the balance, as should give it a perfect see-saw motion, if touched; and keep it quiet and level, if let alone? Is not this the proof rather of total indifference, a declaration that each one may take either the positive, or the negative, side, and still be a good churchman? And is this compatible with a *real* belief on one, and that the nobler, side?

But we will let a high authority in this Church speak again; it is a bishop instructing a curate upon the meaning of the definition which forms our first quotation; and what churchman, however *High*, will presume to accuse a bishop of not knowing his Catechism? Thus then writes the bishop of Worcester:—

"So in regard to the *vexata quæstio* of Transubstantiation; if a clergyman, founding his teaching upon the passage in the Catechism, that 'the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the *faithful* in the Lord's Supper,' instructs his people, without qualification or explanation, that when they eat the bread and drink the wine, they actually eat the body and drink the blood of their Saviour, he conveys an impression which, perhaps, he may not have intended, but the result of which is the persuasion, on the part of his hearers, that our doctrine upon this point is so nearly akin to that of Rome, that he who admits the one, may without inconsistency admit the other. You say that you receive this doctrine as explained by Bishop Ridley, and if you always preached it with the qualification and explanation which he uses in the passage to which you refer, you would have nothing to reproach yourself with in this respect; but if you have been wont (as I know is the custom of some clergymen) to preach the doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ being in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper simply and without explanation, you have conveyed a false impression to your hearers of the doctrine on this head entertained by our Church, and have been guilty of the indiscretion of thereby rendering perversion to Rome, on the part of those among them who might be weak and unstable, more easy to them."—Letter, *ut supra.*

The *vexata quæstio* of Transubstantiation! As if it were the reading in some Greek chorus, or the mode of solving some strange equation, that was under consideration! A Catholic bishop would as soon think of applying to the Trinity or incarnation this term, expressive of worse than mere doubt, as to the mystery of love.

II. But belief in the real presence must have its consequences. Any one who on earth believed the "Son of Man" to be also the Son of God,

must have spoken, acted, dealt, in regard to Him, in conformity with that belief. If we believe the same Holy One to be truly before us in the Blessed Eucharist, can we shrink from similar consequences? The first of these is adoration. Every Catholic child is taught this fearlessly and naturally. Our Divine Redeemer is the object of adoration wherever He is; now he is on the altar in the Blessed Eucharist, therefore he is there to be adored.

If the Anglican Church, as her zealous friends assure us, holds equal belief in His presence in her communion, will that belief stand this test of reality? Let us hear her teaching: "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, fitted up, or *worshipped*." (Art. xxviii.) This is about as cold as ice, a fair damper upon all devotion; but it is nothing to the horrible, but decisive, warrant at the end of the Communion Service; wherein apology is made for kneeling at communion, and the following explanation given of the practice. "Yet lest the said kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance, infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved, it is hereby declared, That thereby *no adoration is intended, or ought to be done*, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal* presence of Christ's natural

* It has been sometimes remarked that this declaration is a modern and unauthorized addition to the Prayer-book,

flesh and blood. For the Sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substance, and therefore may not be adored; (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians;) *and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here;* it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at once in more places than one." This very business-like declaration does away pretty completely with all notion of the Church, which allows it to stand, without protest, in her authoritative liturgy, sanctioning or countenancing any adoration of the Eucharist. May we not therefore reason thus: "Wherever our Blessed Saviour is, He is the direct and proper object of adoration; but according to the Church of England, there is nothing to be adored in the Eucharist; therefore, according to it, He is not there. And this we think may alone decide the matter of reality in the belief imputed to it.

But we are told that such a conclusion is not correct; and that the Anglican Church will not warrant this adoration, simply because there is no authority, "no ordinance of Christ," for it. Waiving all argument from the declaration quoted

dating from 1662. This is not correct. It formed part of Edward the Sixth's second book, A. D. 1552, with one remarkable variation in this place. Instead of "any *corporal* presence," it has "*real* and *essential* presence." (Keeling, Liturgiæ Britannicæ, p. 233.) This shows that not only a *corporal* (as has sometimes been said), but any *real* presence was rejected from the beginning by the Anglican Church.

above, which gives as a reason for *not* adoring, that our Lord is not in the Lord's Supper, we must really say, that for such nice reasoners, it is well that God has made it a commandment that we love Him. For otherwise they might just as well have refused Him love, on the ground of "want of orders." But surely it needs no new commandment or ordinance, to adore the Son of God, wherever He is, *if* we believe and know Him to be there. Samaritans worshipped Him when on earth,* and Canaanites,† without any ordinance for it; and surely Christians who believe him to be "very God of very God," cannot require any more warrant than they. We must conclude that those who so require, cannot, or dare not, realize their belief in His presence, if they have it. It is so weak, indefinite, and undecided, that the fear of idolatry is stronger than it, and prevails.

III. If such be the unreality of Anglican belief that it will not face the first natural consequence of real faith, let us try it on another ground. How does each Church speak of this Sacrament and what it contains, when not directly declaring doctrine, but only giving rules and prescriptions about it, or in the actual administration of it? It is true that, in the prayers of the Communion Service, the body and blood of our Saviour are occasionally mentioned as about to be received, but seldom without such a qualification,

* Luke xvii. 16. † Matt. xv. 22.

as leaves it quite uncertain how they are to be received, or if so as to constitute a real presence. Thus: "Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of *bread* and *wine*, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood." But a clearer instance of this wavering and ambiguity occurs in the act of receiving, as compared with its correspondent act in the mass. In the latter, the priest simply says: "The body [*or* blood] of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my [*or* thy] soul to life everlasting." This intimates at once that what is received *is* the body or blood of our Lord. In the Anglican liturgy, an additional clause is subjoined, which destroys all such assurance. "The body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat *this* in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on *Him* in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." That which is eaten is clearly distinguished from Christ, who is to be fed on in the heart only by faith. And the body referred to, in the first clause, is not necessarily that which is eaten; but the words seem to have reference to the Passion: "The body of Christ preserve thee—but eat *this*, etc."

But carrying this inquiry a little further, let us see how the rubrics, or directions, in the two liturgies speak, when mentioning the sacred elements. The Anglican Prayer-book says: "And when he delivereth the *bread* to any one, he shall

say," etc. "If the consecrated *bread and wine* be all spent," etc. Now, never shall we meet with such terms in the Missal. The use of the words "*hostia*" (literally, of course, *victim*) and "chalice" often occurs, but the names of the elements are never employed. But, instead, frequently, the names of the *realities* contained in the sacred mysteries are used. Thus, in the Ordinary of Mass, the communion of the chalice is thus described: "Sumit totum sanguinem,"—"The priest receives the whole of the blood." And in the Good-Friday service: "The deacon opens the ark in which the body of Christ is laid up. . . . . He (the priest) kneels, and receives the paten with the body of Christ . . . and he receives the body reverently." Possibly such bold and straightforward terms, which admit of no variety of interpretations, may sound harsh in Protestant ears; but they are most decisive proofs of a *real* belief in our Lord's Presence, and the presence of nothing else.*

* Our old English Liturgies present even stronger passages to the point. Thus in the Sarum and Bangor rites we have, "*Ad* corpus. . . dicat; Ave in æternum sanctissima caro Christi; mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus D. N. J. C. sit mihi peccatori via et vita." Again in the York Missal:—"Hic sumat *Corpus*, cruce prius facta cum ipso *Corpore* ante; deinde *ad Sanguinem* dicens, etc. Maskell's Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, 2nd ed. p. 122. Everything in these texts, and many others like them, proves how fully the ancient English Church agreed with us in our belief. The same may be said of the Oriental Liturgies. Thus in the Liturgy of St. James, published in

IV. Before we take leave of the Common Prayer, we will notice one more distinction between the two modes of viewing this mystery. Extending our examination beyond the mere liturgy, to prayers and meditations, and "Companions to the Altar," we find on the Catholic side, what is totally absent on the Protestant, a clear and definite view of the personal relation between our Lord and the communicant. "Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et Sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis." Such are the words which the priest uses; and in all the prayers of thanksgiving for priest or people, the thought reigns throughout, that an awful but most sweet communion has taken place between the Master and disciple, more intimate than that of John when he leaned his head upon his Lord's bosom, more akin to the sublime privilege of Mary than to any other grace. Hence the Catholic who, before communion, had ardently addressed his Lord as upon the altar, after it, adores, loves, and speaks to Him, as now truly enshrined in his own breast. Hence those outbursts of affectionate tenderness, that sense expressed of individual favor; that conviction repeated in glowing language, that the very Source of grace is ours, that the body from which virtue goes forth, and whose very touch is consecration, is intimately incorporated into our

Syriac by Assemani (Cod. Liturg. Ec. Univ. tom. v. pass), the rubrics always call the elements after consecration, simply "the Body and Blood."

very being; that the God-Man, with the fulness of His Divinity is appropriated completely to ourselves: and hence that close and familiar converse with God, as no longer worshipped from afar, but actually embraced by the heart which He visits, that form the chief substance of Catholic thanksgiving after communion. And are not all these evidences that we realize our doctrine, that is, act upon it, precisely as we should do if its object came under the senses? that we act towards our Lord *believed*, as we should act towards Him *seen*, to be present? Of these feelings we find not a trace in Anglican authorized works.*

V. But now we can no longer follow parallels. For here ends the power of testing the reality of the English Church's alleged belief in the real Presence from her own statements. What remains must be all one side; but the simple negation, on the other, will afford abundant proof of unreality. If the Body and Blood of our Lord exist after consecration, it is clear that their presence does not depend upon the quantity of the elements employed for it. If a hundred communicate where ten were expected, or ten where a hundred, no Anglican can doubt that each receives exactly the same under either circumstance, each portion or fragment of that bread, each draught

* We of course do not include late works, professedly written on the assumption that the Anglican Church holds the Catholic doctrine, which are generally copies or imitations of Catholic books of devotion.

of that cup affords the same gift as the whole consecrated matter. A belief in the Real Presence, therefore, implies that every crumb and every drop of the elements is more precious and more holy, than anything on earth or in heaven. This belief, as a corollary of the Catholic doctrine, necessarily leads to a reverential treatment of such, even the smallest, particles—a care and anxiety lest any profanation befall them, severity towards those who are guilty of culpable negligence regarding them.

Before going into proof, that the Catholic Church realizes her belief to this extent, we may ask, is it credible that the English Church, if she does believe in the same Real Presence, can have totally overlooked the care of these precious fragments, beyond ordering that what is over shall be partaken of by the communicants in the Church: that nothing should be prescribed by it, in case aught be dropped or spilt? And yet the one seems inevitable, where ordinary bread is used; and the other to be seriously dreaded, where the old and rude partake. We have indeed been told that a certain vicar of High-Church celebrity had adopted the plan of pouring out, on the pavement, the unconsumed wine; which, if true, must appear horrible to every Catholic: that is, on the supposition that he who acted thus really believed that which he left to be trodden under foot, to be the Blood of Christ.

Now let us see how fully the Catholic Church gives proof of her sincere belief in her doctrine, by meeting all its consequences.

1st. She not only clearly proclaims that every minutest particle is the same as the perfect Host, and is to be equally venerated, but she gives the same name to both; the word "particle" being equally applied to the Host given in lay-communion, and to the smallest visible fragment. But in the more lively and imaginative language of the East, the name given is still more beautiful. The minute fragments are familiarly called "Pearls"—the common scripture term for the most precious gems. We will give two examples out of many. In the Coptic Liturgy we have the following expressions—After the division of the Host, the priest "shall take one *pearl* (or particle) of the three above named..... When he has done all these things, the priest shall purify his hands within the paten, lest by chance the smallest particle or *pearl* should adhere to them." * Here we see too the carefulness respecting these small fragments. The second example shall be from a Greek source. The archbishop of Corinth, asked by St. Luke the Younger (tenth century) how communion was to be received by solitaries, describes minutely its being received under one kind, and thus concludes: "Then thou shalt collect all the remaining particles into a vessel, by means of a lin-

* Cod. Liturg. tom. vii. p. 71.

en cloth, using all diligence, lest a *pearl* fall and be trodden on." *

2nd. The rubrics of the Missal give the minutest directions, what has to be done in every possible case of accident. After the priest has been instructed in the ordinary of the mass itself carefully to collect every particle visible or discoverable on the paten or corporal, these rubrics prescribe as follows:—"If a consecrated Host, or any particle of one, fall on the ground, let it be reverently received, and the place cleaned and somewhat scraped, and the scrapings cast into the *sacrarium*. If it fall on a linen cloth, let it be carefully washed, and the water be poured into the *sacrarium*." (Rubr. gener. x. 15.) "If any of the Blood of Christ [mark the simple word] shall fall; if on the ground or on a board, let it be licked up with the tongue, and the place scraped as much as shall be needful, and the scrapings burnt, and the ashes put by into the *sacrarium*. If upon the altar-stone, let the priest suck up the drop, let the place be washed, and the water thrown into the *sacrarium*. If it fall on the linen

* Vita S. Lucæ Jun. ap. Combefis. Auctuar. Bib. Pat. tom ii. p. 986. This expression was used by the Latins also, when speaking of the Blessed Eucharist. Fortunatus (lib. iii. carm. 25) thus applies it:—

———ut *Corporis Agni*,
Margaritum ingens aurea dona ferant.

This same phrase "Margaritum ingens" we find also in Prudentius, though differently applied (Psychom. 873).

cloth of the altar, and the drop reach the second, and the third cloth, let each be washed three times, where the drop has fallen, a chalice being held under it, and let the water be poured as above." (Ib. 12.) Now surely all this care does show a reality of belief in the worth and holiness of what it regards.

3rd. The rubrics just quoted seem to have been copied from the Canons of Theodore of Canterbury: where however the penalties are added, to be inflicted for every negligence leading to the accidents above detailed. These penalties have been incorporated with the Canon Law, and are as follows:—If "a drop of our Lord's Blood" shall fall on the ground, the priest shall do penance for forty days; if on the altar, for three days; and he shall undergo a penance of four, nine, or twenty days, according as the precious drop shall reach the second, third, or fourth cloth.*

To an Anglican accustomed to see no account taken of the remains of his sacramental elements, or of accidents that may happen to them, such care and anxiety, and such severity may appear excessive: and he may say that such minuteness is of modern growth, and was unknown in the early Church. Such however is not the case. Tertullian testifies that in his days the Christians were grievously pained ("anxie patimur") if any particle or drop of the holy Eucharist fell on the ground.† Origen likewise says:—"When you

* Cap. xxvii. De Consec. Dist. ii. † De Cor. mil. cap. iii.

receive the Body of Christ, you keep it with all care and reverence, lest any little of it should fall. *For you consider yourself guilty*, and that rightly if any of it through your negligence should fall."*

VI. Another natural consequence of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist is the belief in its intrinsic holiness and power of consecration. This may be expressed in another way, as a belief in the Presence of the Person of our Lord. The Protestant doctrine, when it goes furthest seems only to consider the Body and Blood as distinct elements, without reference to the doctrine that Christ suffers no more, and is living, and consequently cannot exist in parts.

1st. When we consider how all Christendom took arms to rescue and worship the "holy sepulchre" in which His sacred corpse was laid, because Its contact steeped in holiness the very rock, we cannot wonder that Catholics should look upon everything that has immediate connection with the Blessed Sacrament, as thereby made holy, and deserving of reverence. Hence the sacred vessels, which are used at the altar, and those linen cloths which touch the sacred Body, are kept with extraordinary care, and are not allowed to be touched by lay persons: nor are the latter washed by them, until a sub-deacon has twice washed them; and the water is poured into the *sacrarium*.

* Homil. iii. in Exod. See many decrees of Councils and other ancient authorities on this subject in Martene De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, tom. i. lib. i. cap. v. art. v.

2nd. This same feeling shows itself in another way; by the formal blessing or consecration of whatever has to be employed in the service of the Blessed Sacrament; so that it may truly be considered the source and root of all consecration in the Church. This feeling of the personality of our Lord naturally suggests the thought that the Church is His House; and hence the long and sublime office by which this is consecrated. Then the Altar which is His throne, as well, receives its own still more peculiar and minute consecration. The sacred vessels also must be similarly consecrated; and to prepare for these solemn dedications, of which the holy anointing is an essential part, another beautiful service is necessary, that of the blessing of the holy oils on Maundy-Thursday.

3rd. Then again this same sentiment leads us naturally to another result—the enriching, to the utmost, whatever is thus employed. The church is decorated, because our Blessed Lord dwells there; the sanctuary is made more splendid, because it contains the Holy of Holies; the sacred vessels are made as rich as possible; nothing but gold or silver is properly permitted for the paten or the cup of the chalice. The tabernacle also will be often richly adorned, where no eye can see it, but that of angels.

Now we know of nothing in Anglican practice or rule, which exhibits any consciousness of the real presence in this sense, or a belief that our Saviour's sacred person communicates consecration,

and is to be treated with outward honor. Yet how can that faith be real which does not lead to such results?

VII. This "personal Presence," if we may use the term, naturally implies that our Divine Lord bears with Him all the dignity and pre-eminence which belongs to Him. He is there King, Lord, Supreme Bishop, sole, exclusive, Object of attention and worship. And this conviction, and the feelings to which it gives rise, will show themselves in every way that they can, referably to the humbled and disguised form in which it pleases Him to exhibit Himself. The illustrations which we shall give of this may appear almost trifling; but they will even be thereby more striking, because more natural, and the result of simple conviction.

1st. Within the tabernacle in which the Blessed Eucharist is reserved, no other object, however sacred, is allowed to be placed. It must be kept in a tabernacle, the Ritual prescribes, "ab omni alia re vacuum." * Neither the holy oils, nor the chalice, nor any other thing, however sacred, can be allowed to be placed within the same receptacle.

2nd. As within, so without, the tabernacle must belong exclusively to Him who deigns to dwell within it. Hence, while the Blessed Sacrament is there, nothing else is allowed to be placed upon it; not even a relic of the holy cross, much

* Rit. Rom. De SS. Eucharistiæ Sacram.

less the altar-crucifix. For it is clearly unbecoming to make the place of the Lord's own abode merely a base or pedestal for an inferior object. The Congregation of Rites has expressly and strongly reprobated the contrary abuse. *

3rd. When it is exposed to public adoration, no relics are allowed to be placed upon the altar. † For relics have to receive veneration; but nothing is allowed to receive any regard in the presence of our Lord, Who must alone absorb all honor and worship.

4th. It has been doubted whether when the Blessed Eucharist was exposed during Mass (for of other occasions there never was a difference of opinion) the crucifix should remain on the altar, in obedience to the general Rubrics. The question was referred to the Congregation of Rites at Rome; in permitting either practice, its answer gives the opinion of the great Basilicas at Rome against its being there, in these words: "Supervacaneum enim adjudicant *Imaginis* exhibitionem,

* We have been often pained to see the disregard shown to this injunction in England, especially in new churches; for it is a most natural result and realization of belief in the Real Presence. We do not know an instance in which Rubric is departed from without a sacrifice of real beauty which must consist in the outward expression, to its utmost perfection, of the inward beauties of Catholic faith. We may have soon to return to this subject; for disregard of Rubric in our sacred buildings or other accessaries to Divine worship, seems to cry out for a check.

† Decr. S. R. C. Aquens. 2 Sept. 1741; Gardellini, tom. iv, p. 278.

ubi *Prototypus adoratur*."* How clearly do these words realize the belief in our Saviour's personal presence.

5th. We should say something on the beautiful practice of having a lamp ever burning, day and night, before the place where the Blessed Sacrament reposes, if we had not written concerning it in a former article.

6th. It is the rule, in all functions, that when anything is handed to the celebrant, the thing itself and his hand are kissed. But if a superior be present, this mark of respect is not shown. Thus a priest's hand is not kissed in the presence of a bishop; nor a bishop's if officiating before his archbishop; nor an archbishop's, or patriarch's, before the Pope. But in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, no one's hand is kissed, and no mark of respect can be paid to any one.† In whatever dignity any one may be placed, even in that of Christ's vicar, he then stands in the presence of One still, and infinitely, superior. Is not this a true realization of the belief that a greater than the greatest of men is there; by the same form of

* Ubi sup.

† Dec. S. R. C. 31st Aug. 1793: "Exorta controversia . . . super nonnullis reverentiis seu capitis inclinationibus fieri solitis coram SS. Sacramento publicæ venerationi exposito: S. Congregatio . . . rescribendum censuit: *Nemini deberi reverentiam et amplius.*"—Gardellini, tom. v. p. 147. [The expression *et amplius*, at the close of a decree of a congregation, is an abbreviation for "*et amplius non proponatur*."]

outward expression as the superiority of the sovereign above his courtiers, however noble, would be shown, viz., by the reservation of all marks of respect to him?

7th. In like manner, all blessings which occur in the service, are reserved to the highest in dignity present. A priest does not bless the incense or anything else in the presence of the bishop, nor a bishop before the Pope. But when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, no blessing can be given to anything;* another clear recognition of the acknowledged superiority of One present.

In those two instances the realization of faith takes place by the simple carrying out of a general rule or rubric; acting straightforward and naturally to the recognition of a real Presence of our Divine Lord.

* "Episcopus. . . ponit incensum. . .absque benedictione, et sine osculo manus Episcopi."—Cœrem, Episcop. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (On Maundy-Thursday.) "Absque osculo cochlearis et manus. . .Episcopus sine benedictione imponit thus."—cxxxiii. (On Corpus Christi.) It is true that the bishop's ring is kissed when he gives communion, by each one before he receives: but it must be observed, 1st. That the hand thus reverenced, holds at the time our Lord's sacred Body, towards which the salutation is directed; and 2nd. That this is probably the kiss of peace given to communicants. Hence the deacon and sub-deacon, at a pontifical High Mass, kiss the bishop's face just before receiving communion, with the words "Pax tecum," etc. In the Syriac Liturgy, the expression, "the priest *gives peace* to the altar," signifies that he kisses it. [It is probably in reverence to the same occupation of the hand, that it is kissed after the *Pater Noster*, when the paten is given.]

8th. It may seem almost superfluous to give the following example. It is usual for the clergy in foreign countries to cover the head with a small cap (our ancient *coif*), called in French *calotte*, in Italian *zucchetto*, and in Spanish *solideo*, because taken off in honor of God alone. It is not removed from the head even, we believe, in the presence of the sovereign. In Italian this name is given only to the corresponding cap worn by the sovereign Pontiff, because in his presence every one else uncovers. But before the Blessed Sacrament every one, even he, must be bare-headed. Thus is plain acknowledgment made that He who is God is there reverenced.

VIII. This feeling of the presence of our Blessed Lord, in His real personality—"Christus totus," is expressed in ordinary language by the people in ways, which, the more simple they are, and so sometimes almost startling, the more they evince the full realization of their faith. In English, frozen not a little by a Protestant atmosphere, we are accustomed to speak, even on more formal occasions, only of the "Blessed Sacrament," or the "Blessed Eucharist," and its exposition and adoration. This seems almost to wrap up our belief in mystery; as though the *disciplina arcani* had not yet left us, and we feared to convey to unprepared ears, to which the "*Ephpheta quod est adaperire*," of Catholic baptism, has not been addressed, the full extent and meaning of our belief in this sublime institution. But the Italian at once speaks

of it, so as to express belief in the personality of our Lord in it, when he familiarly applies to it the term *Gesù sacramentato*. The Portuguese, to express that the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament is coming in its turn to a church, will familiarly say "Our good Father (*nosso bom Pai*) is coming to His house." The Spaniard hesitates not to use a still stronger phrase. To express that Mass, or any other office, or function, will take place, with the Blessed Sacrament exposed, he will say, it has to be, *con Dios manifiesto*,—"with God manifested." Another familiar phrase we will illustrate by a little anecdote.

It happened to us once to be of a party waiting, in a Spanish drawing-room, for the announcement of dinner. In the *plaza* or square before the house was a parish church. It was pouring rain, yet the bell announced that communion was about to be borne to some person. All were busy, talking in various groups, till one of the family suddenly exclaimed, "*Sale Su Magestad*,"—"His Majesty is coming out," when all was instantly hushed, every one fell on his knees, and remained in adoration till the sounds of the procession had died away. What a simple expression! yet how full of energy, reality, and life! How fully and firmly that child had hold of the whole Catholic doctrine, and how unwaveringly, unflinchingly, was he sure to keep it, while it remained embodied in so brief yet so ample, so simple yet so sublime a phrase! This is not an uncommon

expression among Spaniards. In fact, the ordinary way of stating that the Blessed Sacrament is or is not reserved at a given altar, is by saying, "His Divine Majesty is" or "is not here."

We trust that our readers will now understand what we mean by realizing a doctrine; *i. e.* the acting upon a doctrine as a man does on anything that he really knows to be true; the naturally following it to all its practical consequences, without effort and without restraint, quite as a matter of course. We do not see what more a person could do in regard to the Blessed Eucharist, who should have the evidence of his eyes to our Lord's presence in it, than the Catholic naturally and almost instinctively does. At the same time, we flatter ourselves that we have given ample tests, in the contrasts proposed, for deciding in which Church is really the belief of our Lord's presence in the holy Eucharist. With the variety of demonstrations which we have given of reality of belief, on the Catholic side, let the reader compare the following summary of "significant ceremonies" enumerated in the pamphlet at the head of our article, as those which clergymen alter, and thereby, according to the Rev. Mr. Wray, grievously interfere with "*the highest act of Christian worship.*"

"In the public service many decent ceremonies, expressly enjoined in canons and rubrics, are omitted such as *bowing the head* at the holy name, and 'reverently bringing' all charitable collections 'to the priest,' and the 'humble pre-

senting' of these alms, and 'placing them upon the holy table:' and *then*, also, and *not till then*, the placing of the elements on the altar, to be consecrated: and *after consecration*, and *not before*, the covering what remains of them reverently with a fair linen cloth."—P. 8

Really if the placing of the elements on the holy table after the collection of the alms, and the covering their fragments with a linen cloth after consecration, is all that his Church has done to secure the reverence that a real faith would suggest towards our Lord truly present; and if these are the vital forms, the tolerated neglect of which constitutes the scandal of "a violated discipline and permitted heresy," the poor Church of England has but little to show in evidence of any true belief in a real presence. We might almost defy any unbelieving priest of the Catholic Church, so to mutilate her service, without actually breaking it to pieces, as to remove its pervading evidence of our faith.

But we have said enough on this subject. There are many other topics which we might select for further illustration of our position. We will however briefly touch upon only two or three.

The first is the unity of the Church, as affirmed to be believed in the Creed. Let any one bring the faith of the two churches to the test of reality, and see which truly holds a dogma, in these words. What does a Protestant mean to say, when he pronounces the words: "I believe in one, holy,

Catholic, and Apostolic Church?" Does he profess by this, belief in the Church of England? or in a church composed of all Christian communities? and if so, does it include the Church of Rome? that of Russia and Greece? the Nestorians and Monophysites of the East? Does it include Dissenters? and if so, unbaptized Quakers, Unitarians who deny our Lord's Divinity? Swiss Calvinists and German Lutherans, who call themselves Christians, but follow Strauss or Paulus into the depths of rationalism? Or is it in the Church not of the present day, but of former ages, Bishop Ken's universal Church, before the separation of East and West? and if so, of what period—that of Photius, or Nestorius, or Arius? Or does he believe in an abstract Church of all times and places, a spiritual and invisible body? If so, what *does* he believe in? and what does he believe about it?

Again, what does he mean by *One* Church? One in number? or one in unity? If the former, which and where is the one Church? If the latter, let him tell us what he means by unity. What constitutes its essence? Oneness of doctrine or intercommunion, or common government, or union with the same centre? If any of these, which is the one Church that has the mark, and in which he believes?

We will not trouble him to tell us what he means by catholic, or apostolic, but shall be satisfied if he will tell us, what he believes in, when he

professes belief in "the Church." What means he by "the Church?" Not, of course, in the material church, he cannot mean that; but in what else? in the bench of bishops? or in them and the clergy? or in the houses of convocation, and in nothing till they are restored? or in the bishops of all Christendom? or only in Dr. Pusey's views, or Mr. Bennett's? or in Mr. Simeon's, or the Hon. Baptist Noel's? Then what does he mean by believing *in* the Church? Merely in its existence? or in its teaching? If so, how and when does she teach him? Does he stand close to the Thirty-nine? or does he take the Prayer-book and Homilies in? or does he judge them all by Scripture, and decide for himself? Does he take bishops' charges for part of the Church's teaching? If so, what does he believe in, on recent controversies? If not, when and how do the bishops publicly teach? Then we may ask him, how does the Church enforce or vindicate her teaching? what is heresy, and what schism? what the sin of either? how punished in the Church?

Really these are all questions necessary to be definitely answered before any sensible meaning can be attached to the article of the Nicene Creed above quoted; yet we have no doubt that it would perplex and worry even a well-educated Anglican to answer them; and if several were asked them, we are sure that we should have, "quot capita tot sententiæ."

But any Catholic child well instructed in his

catechism, would be able to answer them, if the historical names were explained. By the "One Church," he understands at once the union of Churches in communion at the present time with the Holy See. This includes and excludes all that is requisite. The Church is one, by perfect unity in doctrine, by communion, by common headship, and indivisible government. All out of union with its centre are excluded from our belief. We believe all that she teaches, and know how she teaches it. She is an infallible guide; and whoever refuses her obedience is cut off from her and must perish if he repent not. The Catholic realizes his faith; it is clear and definite before his mind in every respect; and he at once seizes naturally on its developments, and follows them to their utmost limits. It may be said to be restricted and exclusive; but all faith in the oneness of anything is necessarily so.

Let us, secondly, take the belief in the "communion of saints." How does an Anglican realize it? In what way does he satisfy himself that, by these words, he gives utterance to a definite belief in his mind, embodies an image and idea, which has a clear existence there? but, still more, communion between persons is more than an idea, it is a fact, an action, carried on by some intelligible process or other. We cannot be said to be in communion with the inhabitants of the Carribee Islands, because we read of them, or think of them; but the trader who gives them glass beads in ex-

change for water and provisions (though the former are worthless, and the latter most valuable), is in communion with them, even when they negotiate at a distance and by signs. How does the Anglican then satisfy his conscience, that, when he professes belief in "the communion of saints," he is stating a belief in something that really can be called by that name? He firmly holds, certainly in practice, that he has nothing to say to the saints, nothing to do with them. We are not of course, speaking of Tractarians, but of the mass of Church-Christians. His Prayer-book does not direct him on the subject; his teachers only touch on it to warn him against its danger. He is taught to pray and to act just as if there were no saints with whom to be in communion; nay, he probably often hears, that we do not even know where they are till the last day. He must not address them, for he is told that they can neither hear nor help him. All respect, or love, or confidence, or other feeling, whereby communion with holy and beautiful beings must needs be accompanied, are interdicted, as so much taken from Christ, which belongs to Him exclusively. The saints, therefore, neither give nor receive; neither know nor are known; neither can hear nor are to be addressed, according to Anglican practical teaching. Then, where is the reality of any communion between them and the reciter of the Creed in that establishment? We cannot imagine how he considers himself to declare belief

in a reality; for a reality must have an existence; and here we find no traces of any, not even in the imagination.

But with the Catholic the whole is a truth, a substantial, consistent, *real* thing. In moments of danger or anxiety, or in his ordinary prayers, he addresses them just as if they were before him; no more doubting that they can hear him, than he would if they were visible. He feels familiar with them, as though he had known them on earth; he communes with the martyr of the first ages, as with holy men of his own time; reminds him of his torments and his crowns, as if the memory of these were still fresh in our minds, and bids him plead on his behalf with his, and our Master. Heaven is as our common country; the saints of all ages and of all nations have there their home; and with all who are there, we have present and actual communion. And in like manner does the Catholic treat as a reality what they do for us. He takes it completely for granted, that those whom he addresses, whether individually or collectively, exert themselves for him, and really obtain him blessings. And even farther than this does his realization go. He naturally considers the blessed in heaven as carrying on the work which they loved on earth, and interested in its safety, or its completion. It never crosses his mind, that nearly two thousand years have elapsed since St. Peter mounted from his cross to heaven; but he considers him still seated at the

helm of his life-bark, that defies every storm; steering it with unerring skill over every shoal, through every billow, round every rock, letting down his ample net just at the right time and in the right direction, to draw in his marvellous draught of entire nations. Do the inhabitants of Milan think that St. Charles, or even St. Ambrose is far away from them, and not rather ever most present, watching over their common Church, which both loved so dearly as their sponse on earth? This is, in fact, but the sentiment expressed so vividly by St. Chrysostom and other ancient Fathers, that the martyrs still hovered over the cities whose tutelary guardians they were and protected their very walls against invading foes.

Surely in all this (and we omit much that might be added*) we have the fullest possible carrying out of a real belief, in a real communion, between beings that ordinarily communicate invisibly.

Our next and concluding illustration will be of a more abstract character; but one that has considerable influence upon devotional feelings, and practice, in the two Churches. We had indeed

* As the belief in visions or apparitions of saints, in the miracles wrought by their intercession, or their relics. Even they who may be sceptical on such subjects, or inclined to think that credulity prevails among Catholics, especially the ignorant, respecting them, must acknowledge that the existence of such an easy belief is evidence of the reality of the faith which prompts it.

wished to carry our examination into the belief of the sublimer mysteries of faith, so to have seen how far the Protestant, following the teaching of the Anglican Church, can be supposed to realize his belief in the Trinity, or the Incarnation of our Lord. But we own that we shrink from this portion of our subject; for we might be thought desirous of affixing a deeper stain upon that unfaithful witness to the truth, than we have till now imputed. We therefore rather take a subject necessarily connected with those great truths, but coming more within the limits of familiar controversy, and less likely to wound any one's feelings.

The Church of England, in accordance with the Catholic Church, teaches that the B. Virgin Mary was the mother of our Lord, incarnate for our salvation. Does, or can, a Protestant realize the truth of their mutual relationship; in other words, the motherhood of the ever-blessed Mary? Does he, or dare he, contemplate it to its full extent? We ask the question because, again and again, we have heard hesitation expressed about allowing her the fulness of her awful prerogative; we have seen Anglicans shocked at her being called the "Mother of God." Yet they were persons who confessed Jesus Christ to be God. But they divided His person; because they could not realize the idea that she could be more than the mother of man. Now it is not this view precisely with which we wish to deal; for it implies what we have before hinted, inability to realize faith in the Incarnation,

the very essence whereof is the indivisible union of the two natures—the divine and human, in only one person. But, supposing this difficulty not to exist, what idea does the Anglican entertain of the character of this maternity? Does it come to his mind and heart, with all the accompanying tendernesses that bind a mother and child, or as a dry, abstract, almost unnatural, relationship? Can he bear to dwell upon the thought, without fearing that it is profane, of the Only-begotten of the Father before all ages being the infant of woman, however pure; caressed, nursed, borne, as if helpless, in her arms; lulled, as if wearied, to slumber on her breast; fed, as if hungry, from her living stores; led in His first tottering steps, as if weak, by her gentle hand; taught to lisp His first accents, as if ignorant, by imitating the sweet sounds of her lips; smiling when smiled upon, weeping till soothed, swathed and clothed,* and in all things treated as another child? And can he bring himself to analyze, and contemplate in detail, the emotions which such mutual relations must have excited; the many strong and inseparable fibres which formed the cord that linked two such hearts as

* "Vagit infans inter arcta
Conditus præsepia;
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat:
Et Dei manus pedesque
Stricta cingit fascia."
Hymn for Passion-tide, R. B.

these, when feeling them; hearts wherein could be no pretence or fiction, and wherein the reality of whatever was virtuous, holy, godly, could have no bounds short of the perfection whereof each was capable? And what is more deserving of those names, than the love of mother for child, or child for mother? Between them, therefore, in this instance there must be assumed to have existed such mutual reliance, affection, conformity of will and desire, oneness of thought, identity of feeling, as could not possibly exist between any two other beings, such as may be said necessarily to have blended their two hearts into one, incapable of separation.

But besides this natural tie (if one may so speak of that which is all above nature's reach), the title of mother—which the doctrine of the Incarnation secures to holy Mary, takes in the eyes of a real believer the form of an incommunicable privilege, as regards all other creatures; a solitary prerogative, of which none other is capable, which is essentially ennobling above every possible order of Angelic dignity, necessarily and directly sanctifying beyond the reach of any acquirable holiness, which consequently separates her, and elevates her above every other class of God's best creatures, whether preserved in integrity, or redeemed from sin. It is impossible to realize a belief in the maternity of the blessed Virgin, without thus considering her.

Again, let us view this relationship through the

light thrown on it by holy writ. The Catholic will at once see all his conceptions of it justified. Let us view it first in dishonor. To expiate the crimes of Saul and his people, and arrest the famine which they had brought upon the nation, it was decreed that seven of his children should be crucified. They were accordingly crucified "upon a hill before the Lord."

Two of the victims were the sons of Respha; let us see the mother's place at such a scene of agony and of ignominy. "And Respha, the daughter of Aja, took hair-cloth, and spread it under her upon the rock, from the beginning of the harvest, till water dropped upon them out of heaven; and suffered neither the birds to tear them by day, nor the beasts by night. And it was told to David what Respha had done." * How touchingly venerable is this picture of maternal affection, of that στοργή which requires a name of its own; that patient, calm, resigned breast, which endures unsubdued, shame, grief, fatigue, not to speak of the quivering agony of a mother's heart, witnessing torment in the best-beloved—all from that very love. Now exactly such a picture does the realization of the motherhood of Mary place before a true believer's imagination and heart; as she contemplates the closing scene of *her* Son, crucified on a hill before the Lord, for expiation of others' sins. And to what does the comparison lead? Why let the Protestant first bring himself to apprehend, by the

* 2 Reg. xxi. 10.

standard of nature, the communion of eye and heart, if not of word, which took place between Respha on her rocky seat, and Armoni on his cross. Were the bonds now broken or weakened, whereby his heart in infancy had clung to hers, or did they clasp and curl around it more tenderly and more mightily than ever? Did he reject her rights over him, now that all else was dark and dismal, and not feel more than ever a son, when she could so show herself a mother? Did not his last glance seek her there, and was it not as soft as a child's could be? For very humanity's sake, who could have it otherwise? Then change the scene to Calvary; and who will fear to realize there all that has seemed necessarily true on the hill of Gabaa? Surely no one will think it less than blasphemy to imagine, that because our Lord was more, therefore He was less, than Man; that because He was God, He dispensed with the virtues of Humanity. On the contrary, we must intensify, to an infinite degree, whatever our judgment, according to the standard of nature, shall have shown to be a necessary result in the other case.

And now let us shift the scene, from sorrow and disgrace to gladness and glory. The Word of God shall again furnish the parallel. Solomon has just been raised to his throne; a petitioner, who has offended him, is afraid to approach him. He accordingly seeks the intercession of Bethsabee, the king's mother. Let us hear how he ad-

dresses her. "I pray thee, speak to king Solomon; *for he cannot deny thee anything* . . . . . And Bethsabee said: Well; I will speak for thee to the king. Then Bethsabee came to king Solomon, to speak to him for Adonias; and the king arose to meet her, and bowed to her, and sat down upon his throne; *and a throne was set for the king's mother, and she sat upon his right hand.* And she said to him: I desire one small thing of thee, do not put me to confusion. *And the king said to her: My mother, ask; for I must not turn away thy face.*" * This scene is again a real one; and the king who speaks and acts in it, is the wisest of men, and the particular type of Christ our Lord. It may be said to present to us the scriptural realization of the relative position of mother and son, when the latter is raised to highest honor and power; even though he be of right kingly birth, and she but of much humbler origin, and taken out of low rank. It is in virtue of her *motherhood* alone, that she has a throne set at her royal son's right hand; and that he bids her ask, as he must not turn away her face. Is a Protestant ready to realize his notions of Mary's maternity to the extent that Scripture here warrants us? The Catholic is to the very letter. Which then looks upon her, as though really believing her to be our Saviour's mother, and therefore naturally attributes to her all the distinction, honor, and power of intercession, which this example

* 3 Reg. ii. 17—20.

shows to flow naturally from the title of mother? Nor should we weaken the strength of our case, if we supposed the actors, in both the scriptural scenes quoted, to be the same; and the son raised to the throne, to be he who had previously seen His mother assert her rights at the foot of His cross.

Whatever, therefore, Catholics may say or do in regard to our blessed lady, it is nothing more than a simple giving of reality to belief in her motherhood; nor is it easy to see, on what principle bars or limits can be put, to stop the flow of those feelings towards her, which this view necessarily sets in motion. We must either not love her at all, or we must try to love her as her Son did and does; for His virtues are to be our measure. Now, who can ever reach the affection of such a Son towards such a mother? Again, she must either have no influence at all, or it must be boundless. If she have a throne anywhere, it *must* be at her Son's right hand; and if she be allowed to open her mouth, the Son cannot "turn away her face."

In this simple view we have at once the key to all the affectionateness, and all the confidence, which devout Catholics entertain for her. We have, moreover, the explanation of another general rule of a devout life; that the more holy a person is, the more warm and tender will his feelings be towards her. Perfection consists in the imitation of our Lord's virtues; the closer the im-

itation, the greater the perfection. As His love for His mother was doubtless a virtue, and as we are bound to love all that He loved, the nearer we come to Him in this, the more we advance towards His perfection. And as all growth in perfection is general, that is, cannot be in one point and not in another, so must this virtue increase along with every other.

We will only add a few words more; words which perhaps some Catholic experience can alone make intelligible. The most effectual antidote to the seductions of sense, is perhaps the spiritualizing of their natural tendencies. He who is brought to hunger after, and to labor for, spiritual food, cares little for the meat that perisheth. They who covet treasures in heaven, soon learn "*perituras calcare divitias.*"* And nothing will more purify the affections of the soul, and make them proof against the taint of a corrupt and sinful nature, than the fixing of them early upon objects which, on the one hand, brook no association with frail and perishable beauty, and yet, on the other, can feed, and fill, and absorb all the power of love. Blessed indeed is the heart of him, "*qui pascitur inter lilia!*"† Now, there is no other object so able to effect this, as the affection which Catholic devotion—that is, the realization of Catholic faith—inspires for our Redeemer's virgin-mother. It fills the mind with an image of

* "To trample under foot perishable riches."

† "Who feedeth among the lilies."

loveliness so pure, so chaste, so ethereal, so transcending all earthly combinations of the beautiful, that all else seems but gross and paltry. For it is the beauty of holiness that it reflects upon the soul, in which there is naught of worldly levity or of remorseful pensiveness, no such mere comeliness as painters or poets can express; but there is that grave and calm sweetness which tells of humility, and meekness, and modesty, and tenderheartedness, and love for all, mingled with that unspeakable majesty and sin-reproving earnestness, which become the mother of a God made man. It is an image which ever comes before the soul, not surrounded with the alluring accompaniments of worldly forms, but enshrined in a soft atmosphere of light celestial, warm and glowing, but too holy to be nearly approached. No carved and gilded frame sets off its fairness, but cherubs smiling from golden clouds, and gazing in wonder at the miracle of grace, in which heaven and earth first met, surround and adorn it. And then, to make good her title of mother, upon her bosom rests that wondrous babe, with arms expanded, and wide-open eyes, as though to show that every dart of holy affection from our souls must pierce both hearts, and finds not its way to hers except through His. Fill, we say unhesitatingly, the youthful imagination betimes with the chaste love of beauty such as this; and he that bears it will walk through life in safety, treading on the asp and the basilisk of a treacherous and a poison

breathing world. It will prove a charm to foil every spell of this brutalizing land of Circe.

We must now take leave of our subject; though we have by no means exhausted it. We will only remark, that most of the instances which we have given of realization of faith, will serve to show how much this resembles *Developments* of doctrine. In fact, the two are nearly the same, though viewed in different lights. A doctrine may be fully realized, that is, practically exhibited in its consequences, by degrees in the Church; and the process by which it is brought to this is called its development. But neither for a moment supposes, or allows the introduction of a new doctrine.

POSITION

OF THE

HIGH CHURCH THEORY.

AT THE CLOSE OF 1847.

(From the *Dublin Review* of that date.)

ART. IX.—*Sermons, Academical and Occasional.* By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, Vicar of Hursley, etc. Oxford: Parker.

THERE is not in the history of dogma a more lamentable contrast, than is presented by the beginning, and the close, of the High-Church controversy; for, as a controversy, it may truly be considered at an end. A few years ago a knot of ardent, zealous, learned, and devout Anglicans started the generous undertaking, of raising the religious system to which they belonged, to what they considered its becoming standard. They believed it to be debased, crippled, diseased; and they determined to restore it to soundness and health. They felt no confidence in the zeal of their rulers, though they deeply reverenced their office. They could hope but little from the apathy

of their brethren; less from the coldness of their people. Yet they determined to overcome all these obstacles, to win over the bishops, to arouse the clergy, and to enlighten the laity. They resolved to bring back their doctrines and their worship, but still more, the devotion and the piety of the nation, to ancient and pure models. It was a chivalrous, and noble-hearted, resolution, which could not but bring down many blessings on those who undertook it. And they never thought that it was to be carried into execution by folding up their arms, or biding their time, or rather the time of a possible Providence. They knew that they must work, if they wanted results; that they must begin by sowing seed, if they wished to gather fruit. And generously and vigorously they set to work. All was activity, energy, untiring industry. They employed every tried means of acting on the public mind; the press—daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly; they sent out unperiodical tracts, serials, and libraries; they grasped such extensive schemes as the translation of all the Fathers, and even of the abstruse scholastics of the middle ages. They were busy at college, in convocation, in parliament, in society; and for a time it did look as if the Establishment was astir; and its long stagnant pool seemed moved by an agitation which might be healing. And so indeed it proved to those who early and boldly cast themselves into the perilous waters.

But all this subsided. In many respects the

work proved vain, and it was abandoned as hopeless. Its principal agents received a blessed reward; for the grace which they wished to impart to others fell back copiously on their own souls; and they exchanged the barren earth, which they had labored in vain to till, for the rich soil of the Church, which will yield them fruit a hundredfold. Those who remained behind, and on whom the task of leadership in the "movement" naturally devolved, have abandoned all to which they seemed pledged, have clearly turned their backs on those first principles which guided them; and from the briskness of an extraordinary activity have sunk into a studied inertness, and a satisfied acquiescence, which they would fain persuade us is the truer way to the same end. Anything more pitiable and more distressing, in minds with which one has felt sympathy, we can hardly conceive. For, to a Catholic, it presents the fearful thought of a grace lost, and the time of mercy allowed to escape, and the awful delusions fallen into, which keep men ever after in a hopeless darkness.

But, apart from such gloomy considerations, the fact is so; and the work before us gives us melancholy evidence of it. Its sermons reach over a long period of time, but with them we have no inclination nor intention to deal. We mean to confine our remarks entirely to the "Preface on the present position of English Churchmen." It is indeed a remarkable document, and

may be considered as embodying the last theory of High-Churchism, and the principles by which its guides mean to rule it. "A movement" we can no longer call it; for the theory, if it must have a name, should have one descriptive of stagnation, not of motion; the Dead Sea, not the flowing stream, must be henceforth its symbol. The object of Mr. Keble's Preface may be briefly stated in his own words.

"A dutiful person in the English Church, we will suppose, has in some way been made aware of the sayings and feelings of good Roman Catholics concerning her; and with the fact that some of the sayings meet with more or less countenance in antiquity; or he has come to be greatly impressed with the sanctity and other attractions undeniably existing in the communion of Rome and the thoughts begin to haunt him, 'What if her exclusive claim be true? What if it should prove, that as yet I have been living without the pale of Christ's kingdom?'

"How is he to deal with such misgivings? Shall he suppress them with a strong hand, as he would impure or murderous thoughts?"—P. 3.

Mr. Keble assents to this proposal; and after supporting it by some arguments, proceeds as follows:—

"For reasons like these, a person would seem blameable, perhaps we might well judge his course the most reasonable of any, who should bring himself to reject all scruples concerning our Church with a strong moral abhorrence, as he would any other evil imagination. But it is not every one perhaps, who could bring himself to do so; and many, moreover, being more or less answerable for others, may be bound in charity to consider the special matter of their misgivings, and to be provided with some sufficient solution of them;

sufficient, I mean, to direct a simple man's practice, not necessarily sufficient to silence an acute man's objections."—P. 5.

Here, then, we come to the real subject to be treated: how is an Anglican to act, who, troubled by doubts, in himself or others, finds it necessary to face them? Mr. Keble proposes the remedy, based upon Butler's Analogy; consisting of a series of general motives that shall stifle all inquiry, pacify all scruples, and make the anxious one sit down contented, in the very slough of his despond. It supersedes all investigations of doctrine, all weighing of claims, all thought of the past, primitive, or mediæval Fathers or councils, examples of holiness, or saintly teaching; it extinguishes all hopes of a higher standard and of a greater perfection; it substitutes for all these a conviction of optimism in the actual position of the individual and of all around him, which forbids his stirring a step for fear of breaking the charm. The English Churchman, of a peculiar caste, is to consider himself as put exactly in the right place, and there he must stay without thinking of moving, lest he contravene a providential disposition. Our impression, upon reading this theory, was, that we could not better describe it than as a dogmatical quietism,* in which all action of the mental powers is to be suspended in the individual,

* We have since been informed, that Mr. K. has occupied himself with the works of the French quietists. If so, we need not be surprised at the judgment to which he has come.

and his religion is to consist in the passive acceptance of as much or as little doctrine, as much or as little practical observance, as the peculiarity of his situation allots him for his portion. But before entering upon a more detailed examination of Mr. Keble's theory, we must observe that his preface is written throughout in that kindly, mild and humble tone, which makes us respect and even love the author, while we deprecate his views. We should, indeed, be sorry to set down one word which could be interpreted as harsh or unfriendly; and still more shall we regret, if any phrase of ours should appear to insinuate a suspicion of his uprightness and sincerity.

We object *in limine* to the use made of Butler's mode of reasoning from the analogy of nature in a matter of this kind. Wherever the argument is directed to draw the mind from a lower to a higher step in religious progress, we may admit this process. But when once we are at the highest point, and have to determine between two sides of a question, purely dependent upon a manifestation of a divine decision, analogy can have no voice, except as further illustrating and strengthening what by other means is known to be true. For example, an infidel may have his objections to revelation removed by proving that they equally apply to natural and self-evident truths; or, by analogies from nature, etc. The Jew may have his difficulties on the New Testament answered by analogies from the Old; and the person who

denies any Church government, may be brought to respect it and find it by analogies from both. But a mystery like the Trinity, or a gift like the Eucharist, is so out of the sphere of all human conception and human interpretation, that the attempt to bring in analogy as first and fundamental proof, would be at once profane and absurd. Once prove them, and illustrations may be found in the speculations of philosophers and the longings of the human race. Now, the method proposed by Mr. Keble is to bring the reasoning by analogy into the dominion of pure faith, and make a series of doubtful and doubting possibilities become the groundwork of action in a matter of eternal import. Throughout, his reasonings are couched in such expressions as, "may it not be?" "is it not possible?" and he himself is sensible of this. For he says:—

"'Possibly,' 'perhaps,' 'why should it not be so,' these and other like forms of speech sound strangely cold and unmeaning to young and ardent spirits," etc.—P. 10.

And he defends this mode of arguing as follows:—

"Yet a little consideration will make it obvious, that by thus excepting probabilities and analogies, men are indefinitely narrowing the reach and extent of faith as a principle of action. They are limiting it to a few great and trying moments and occasions, whereas it is clearly spoken of in Scripture, as the mainspring of our ordinary life. For how few, comparatively, are the instances in which men are able to act without any doubt or misgiving at all, or any notion that something may be said on both sides? Now all but

such cases, on the hypothesis now mentioned, are taken out of the province of faith."—P. 11.

It would appear, then, that Mr. Keble divides faith between objects of two different classes,—the certain and the only probable. This basis of his whole reasoning we must pronounce uncatholic and false. Faith can only comprise such truths as have been specifically made its objects. In the Catholic Church these are definite and precise. Bossuet, Veron, Holden, or any divine professing to enumerate and circumscribe dogmatic truths, can do so with perfect accuracy. If we suppose a wide region of probabilities besides, which form part of the dominion of faith, it follows that the faith of one person will be wider than that of another; and as the portion which rests on probability will not rest on authority, but upon proofs, it will follow, that each individual will be left to exercise his private judgment upon a great portion of what he believes, as of faith. Or else he will hold the theory of intuition, and of inward impulses of a guiding spirit, which leads to a no less danger; but which, throughout, seems more akin to Mr. Keble's views.

The admission therefore of analogy, especially from nature, as a dogmatical proof, still more as a ground of satisfaction and inertness, is based upon an erroneous and inadmissible theory of faith. Once allow this to be certain and definite, and free from misgivings (as it is with every Catholic), and there is no room for such a mode of inquiry.

Besides, there is no knowing to what extent such reasoning might be pushed. For example, a savage, on being urged to belief in the Trinity, might reply, if capable of Dr. Butler's reasoning, and Mr. Keble's application of it, "that it was 'safer' for him to remain in ignorance of such knowledge; because God had left him so. And as the same Providence which had thus acted in his regard, had withheld from him the knowledge of astronomical truths, which the Europeans possessed, and yet enabled him to be perfectly happy, and skilful in knowing seasons and times without them, so he must suppose that one class of ignorance was as becoming for him as the other, and that some other mode of supplying the one had been provided for him (in his own religion), as it had been done for him in the other." He might indeed be told, that it was "safer" to embrace a system which provides for eternity, than persevere in one which did not. But he might reply, that he believed in a future state, the happiness of which depends upon moral conduct, and not on belief, and tried to order his life for the securing of it. And after Mr. Keble's enfeebling of the principle of dogmatic faith, and his strong advocacy of mere moral grounds of action, in choosing "the safer way," and his urging of generous or confiding conduct for securing it, we do not see how such an unbeliever could be consistently urged further.

We now come to the main scope of Mr. Ke-

ble's preface. It is to show that, whatever amount of argument, or attraction, there may be in favor of the Catholic Church, an Anglican chooses "the safer way" by remaining in his own Establishment. This term, "safer way," Mr. Keble will not allow us to apply to that homely old-fashioned argument, which has led many to serious reflection, and not a few into the Church, viz., that while Hooker and other Anglicans admit our religion to be a safe way to eternal life, Catholic divines do not allow the same privilege to *theirs;* so that a Catholic has his safety confessedly admitted by both sides, and an Anglican bases his, only on the claims of his own. This line of argument, Mr. Keble rejects, as "cold, dry, and hard," as reminding one rather of a dexterous diplomatist insisting on the literal terms of a treaty, than of a loyal and affectionate son and subject, committing himself unreservedly to the King and Father of all." (P. 15.) And yet our Blessed Saviour has been pleased, more than once, to teach us, that eternal salvation is to be made a matter of calculation, however "cold, dry, and hard" this may seem. He compares it to the work of a man about to build, who sits down coolly to make his estimates, and balance accounts, before he begins; to a king, who before going to war, calculates his strength, and prefers a "treaty" to a conflict. He approves of the activity of servants who put their talents to account, and *trade* with them (a very "cold, dry, and hard" occupation), to make profit by them;

nor is there anything in that parable, which authorizes us to conclude, that, if the servant who buried his money, instead of his irreverent plea, had said: "'I commit myself unreservedly' to Thee as a tender Master, and trust to Thy goodness to receive back the talent given me, just as I got it," he would have been answered by: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." Again, what are innumerable parables, as of him who sold all to buy a pearl; and of the steward who feared to lose his place; and of the woman who diligently counted her money, and searched with a broom and lantern for her one lost coin; and of the five prudent virgins, who would not share their oil; what, we ask, are these but so many lessons of activity, prudence, and we might almost say, sharpness, in looking after our eternal welfare; intimations, to use a homely phrase, that "we must have our wits about us," if we intend to work our way to eternal life, among the difficulties and hindrances that stay us? And in that other parable, of the men sent to work in a vineyard, does not the good man of the house (who represents our Lord Himself) "remind us of one *insisting on the literal terms of a treaty?* In fine, throughout the Gospel, which is the more frequently urged upon us—this unreserved confidence, which precludes all trouble of inquiry, or that prudence which omits no precaution of safety? For the former we do not find any encouragement; whereas the prudent householder who

chooses a solid foundation, who watches his house with arms in his hands, who comes in at any hour to surprise his servants, and rewards them only if watchful, who ought to be ever on the look-out for when thieves may come, who has in his stores old things and new to bring into use in proper time, he is the character most frequently put before us, as the type of what we should be in religious matters,— vigorous, active, energetic, persevering, with every sense awake, and every power stretched, and every nerve strained to the work of salvation. These images are indeed simple and home-spun, drawn from every-day life; but this very fact shows that they were meant to be practical, universal, and to form the staple of Christian life. And the epistles represent to us the same character; the reasoning powers appealed to, and the judgment called in to exercise itself even on sublime truths;* there certainly is no

* There is one text of St. Paul, which is constantly brought forward in this sort of controversy, and we see that Mr. Keble employs it (p. 43). It is 1 Cor. viii. 20: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called." This is interpreted to mean, that therefore a man is bound to remain contented in that religion in which he has been brought up. Now it is plain, that if so, to those whom St. Paul addressed, such an interpretation could not have occurred, unless so as to mean, that the Jew was to remain a Jew, and the heathen a heathen; for there were as yet no branch churches. But St. Paul himself explains his meaning sufficiently in the context. "Wast thou called [to Christianity,] being a bondsman? Care not for it." It is very unfair to press this text into the service of the "non-inquiry theory."

idea in them of that suspension of spiritual animation, to which Mr. Keble's theory would necessarily lead. Nor does there seem to be any ground for supposing, that the Almighty, who has given to man judgment and reason, will not hold him responsible for the use of those faculties, as much as for the right application of every other gift. And if a man be placed in such a position, as that reasoning and judgment are the means whereby he is to be extricated from grievous error, he must be responsible for their right use. Now, short of an infallible guidance, every system may be erroneous; and any theory of religion, which on one side admits of possibility of error, and on the other condemns inquiry, is not only inconsistent, but awfully perilous.

But now let us see the means by which Mr. Keble suggests that a member of the Anglican Establishment may stave off all inquiry, and mesmerize into a profound sleep his awakened judgment and his alarmed conscience. First then,

"Being by supposition incompetent to decide upon masses of direct evidence, which these systems severally allege, we look to analogy for further help in determining 'the safe way;' and we find it altogether confirming the impression to which unbiased instinct would lead us, viz., that the world being under moral government, the 'safe way' in uncertain cases must be that which is most agreeable to the duties we are before certain of. 'He that is willing to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God.'"—P. 16.

Mr. Keble's illustration of this principle is, that a man could not receive baptism if he had no

means of receiving it without confessing a crime of which he was really innocent. Now this is certainly an extreme case, yet not unprovided with a remedy, in *baptismo flaminis*,—in baptism by desire. It supposes a man called on not merely to break through a duty that is subordinate, but to tell a lie, that is, commit what under *no* circumstances could be allowed. But there is a more practical and intelligible way of putting this principle to the test. Let us suppose a dissenter invited to join Anglicanism, or an Anglican inclined to Catholicity. He knows antecedently his duty to his parents, and he knows that the step will greatly afflict them, perhaps bring down on him their indignation. Is this previous knowledge of a moral duty to suffice for quenching all further inquiry, and making him satisfied that it would be wrong to go further? If not, then the test as a principle for ordinary cases, breaks down. But if even in this case the moral consideration could justify the stifling of all inquiry, then what becomes of the declarations of our Saviour, that He had come to bring not peace but the sword, and to separate a man from his parents, and on the possibility of love for parents having to be put in the balance against the following or loving Him, and having to be outweighed? Mr. Keble proceeds with another example as follows:—

"Cases again may be conceived affecting practice, in which the seeming logical or historical evidence may tell almost wholly on one side, yet it may be clearly right to

prefer the other, by reason of some moral instinct, which comes in and will not let itself be unfelt. Suppose a man's parent accused of any great crime, let the amount of apparent proof against him be never so overwhelming, none will deny that it is the child's duty, come what will, to disbelieve his guilt if he can; to give him the benefit not only of reasonable doubt, but of any the faintest and remotest possibility of innocence, and to act accordingly, disregarding all personal consequences. Now this is but one out of a thousand instances, wherein the moral sense is mercifully empowered to correct the errors of the intellect, or supply its imperfections. Few in comparison are judges of evidence, but all may listen to the inward voice, directing them in such matters to the safer side."—P. 17.

Here is again a palpable fallacy. If the evidence in this case be overwhelming, it is as much so for the culprit's unfortunate child, as for any third or indifferent party. It could not be any more "an error or imperfection of the intellect" in one than in the other, to come to the same conclusion. The natural instinct, seconded by religious affection, would indeed come in mercifully, to *blunt* the intellect and *deaden* the force of proof; but certainly not to correct it. No one would consider a son an impartial, or fair, nor consequently, a just, judge, in the case of a parent. But to what does this example amount? Why to this, that it will require a greater weight of evidence to convince a dutiful child, than another person, of the parent's guilt, not that he never can be convinced. For after all, too many children grow up in the sad conviction that their father has justly forfeited his life for a grievous crime. And there may

be cases like that of Joas and Athalia, in which a son may have to consent to act fearfully on that conviction. Applying, therefore, this illustration, as it is clear Mr. Keble intends, to the position of an Anglican, we must conclude, that in proportion to his love for his system, and his filial attachment to its governors, will be the difficulty of convincing him that he is wrong. These feelings, or instincts, will be thrown, unconsciously perhaps, and in various shapes, into the balance against us. But there may be a point at which the scale will turn, and conviction will carry the day against instinct, however respectable. It is when evidence is so overwhelming as to overcome feeling, that the triumph of truth takes place, and those demonstrations of the power of grace in the Gospel dispensation, over the most sacred of instincts and attachments, above alluded to, are exhibited in conversion.

Such are the preliminaries of Mr. Keble's grounds for remaining in communion with Anglicanism, and overbalancing arguments in favor of abandoning it. He now proposes five motives for this purpose, which he himself sums up as follows:—

"On the whole, we have enumerated *five* points, in which the moral sense may come in to determine 'the safest way,' whether in aid or in default of historical or abstract reasoning, or in some cases even against it. We may ask ourselves, which of two decisions is more in unison, first, with contentment; secondly, with intellectual modesty; thirdly, with contrition; fourthly, with love of sanctity in others fifthly, with fear of giving offence."—P. 21.

These motives will not be thus easily understood. But their application is as follows:—An Anglican, by remaining in his religion, is in the state which best favors the exercise of these five virtuous feelings; by leaving it, he loses in their regard. Any one else joining that system loses nothing of them, but has all to gain. We must however explain a little more fully what these terms mean.

First, *contentment* Let there be on one side a great array of arguments, on the other the simple principle, "*quieta non movere*,"—"I am where God has seen fit to place me," etc. The latter ought to prevail "until you discern *unequivocal* manifestations of God's will calling you out of it."—P. 19.

This motive is strong in favor of remaining in Anglicanism, because this, compared with Catholicity, is a homely, humiliating condition, and there is more "generous contentment" in remaining in such a state, than there can be in one more glorious and inviting—P. 26.

It is not applicable to others (not however Catholics) called to join the Anglican communion —Jews, for instance; because they have to give up nothing, but only add to former belief, while Anglicans to become Catholics, have to give up what they have accounted to be a real participation in Christ.—P. 56.

Secondly, *intellectual modesty*. Religious arguments are weighty and difficult: there is

more modesty in not affecting to grasp them—a wise self-distrust, which "is a temper so suitable to us and to our condition, that whatever course implies more of it, has so far a presumption in its favor."—P. 19.

This belongs to the Establishment: because, by becoming a Catholic, a member of it pronounces on many and various propositions decided, under anathema, by the Roman Church, and leaves millions to be saved by invincible ignorance, or uncovenanted mercy.—P. 27.

It does not hold where people are called to Anglicanism: because Jews and Turks, for instance, are not called upon to reason, but only to receive testimony!—P. 56.

Thirdly, *contrition*. That system is to be preferred which has a tendency "to magnify, rather than extenuate faults."—P. 19.

This is proved to be applicable in Anglicanism by a curious inversion of argument. The Roman Church, by denying to it sacramental grace, and doubting its baptisms (not its baptism), "assuages a man's self-reproaching thoughts, with the notion that he has not grieved the Holy Spirit." Therefore there is more ground for contrition in the English system, where this thought will continue. —P. 29.

It is not found in another religion. For example, a Baptist does not, on conforming, get rid of "bitter remembrances of post-baptismal sin. For

it was never any tenet of his, that post-baptismal sin has any special aggravation."—P. 57.

Fourthly, *love of sanctity in others.* This sufficiently explains itself.—P. 20.

It exists in Anglicanism, inasmuch as, on leaving this, a man is called upon to deny the supernatural holiness of those whom he has loved and revered from his infancy as holy; and moreover whereas, while an Anglican, he could feel "interested in the Saints of the whole Church," he is required, on conversion, "to cast off all but the Roman."—P. 31.

It is wanting in other bodies, so that they lose nothing of it on embracing Anglicanism. For, again, a Baptist has accounted holiness only as "a special token from God's sanctifying Spirit. . . . He has not counted it, as supposing himself a Catholic [Anglican] he would have done, a regular fruit of the Free Unspeakable Gift, vouchsafed in Baptism. . . . In that case, he must have been content to lower his estimate of it. But now nothing hinders, but that he may still think of it as he did; as of a token of mercy overflowing, an extraordinary favor, over and above the settled dispensations of grace." (P. 57.) Very subtle this; but is it practical reasoning?

Fifthly, *fear of giving offence.* This, again, is sufficiently clear; it is fear of scandal.—P. 21.

It is to be seen in Anglicanism, because one leaving it may have to answer for causing pain, and anxiety, and "wavering of the imagination in

prayer" to others; and, perhaps, for unsettling their principles, and leading them to scepticism.—P. 32.

But not in other systems, which have only to change opinions, not principles; so that the scandal is much less.—P. 59.

We have brought together the *disjecta membra* of Mr. Keble's motives or grounds for remaining in the Anglican communion, in the face of arguments, scruples, and almost goadings of conscience. For, if a man can make up his mind to decide the momentous questions which involve salvation upon such grounds as these, we can easily imagine him fearfully racked and tormented before he subside into quiet indifference: although this may be called a generous confidence. We have stated our author's reasoning as fairly as we could: and we believe that our readers will be astonished, and hold it little less than infatuation, in a good and able man, to propose it for general acceptance. We will confine our remarks on these motives within as reasonable a compass as we can.

1. The entire system bears on it the sure stamp of error in religion,—novelty. From the beginning of the Church to the present hour, there has been an unceasing conflict between the ONE Church, as she always called herself, and numerous bodies, which she considered in error. There have been a number of learned and holy men engaged in arguing on the one side, and no want of ability on the other. And yet, until NOW—until

Butler's "Analogy" has become popular—until Mr. Keble has found that reasoning almost invariably leads to the abandonment of the Establishment, such a simple mode of putting an end to controversy has never been found. Or, if it has any parallel in ancient and venerable times, it can only be in the reasoning of those heretics, who assumed to themselves particular guidance, or claimed marks of Divine favor towards their system. Donatism in what regards "contentment," Novatianism in respect to "contrition," and others, on other heads, might have used similar reasoning. But, certainly, on the Catholic side it has been unknown till now.

2. The reason of this is clear, and bears its own condemnation. Mr. Keble himself acknowledges that it is not a course for the whole Church, but only for the Anglican "branch:" not even for all this, but for the little bough that has sprung from it, under the name of High Churchism. He is treating only of "the line which Divine Providence seems to have marked out for us English Catholics" (p. 24), *i. e.* Anglicans. Then in the next paragraph he narrows this to "the position of an *English Churchman of the Anglo-Catholic school*," which he considers "in many respects peculiarly fitted to form and prove this part of the Christian character" (p. 25), that is, contentedness. We are therefore called upon to admit the startling proposition, that a special mode of satisfactory evidence, before unknown, has been

vouchsafed to what is commonly called Puseyism, or particular views in a national (so-called) Church. We never heard anything certainly that sounded more like a plea for heresy in our lives. It supposed a fractional portion of a system rejected by the rest of the Church, to have been so taken under the peculiar guidance of a superintending Providence, that its followers have been furnished with a special form of evidence, and a particular mode of being convinced, which belongs (at least in equal measure) to none other. This little flock is taken out of the ordinary rules, whereby the minds of men have been guided and ruled, till now, in religious truth; and has received instead, a series of moral principles or instincts, which have to take their place, and make it satisfied with what it has, irrespectively of its being true or false. It alone is exempted from reasoning, or examination of evidence, without the plea of infallibility, or even of certainty.

Now against all this we have two further objections. First, so extraordinary a privilege ought surely to have manifestations, *ab extra*. In other words, the "Anglo-Catholic school" of "the English Church" being so favored by God, must be intended to draw all that establishment into itself, so as to cease to be a school; and further to gain the whole of the Catholic Church to its communion. Its motto should be, "Fear not, little flock, for it hath well pleased your Father to give unto you the kingdom." It is im-

possible to imagine a religious section so specially favored and endowed from above, merely for the sake of those who happen to be already in it; but the same peculiar graces must be meant to extend to others. Our blessed Saviour prayed, not only for his apostles, but for all those likewise who through them should come to believe. A merciful God must therefore wish that many more should partake of the new blessings which He has, in these later days, granted to one favored body. But how is this to be, unless there are evidences, external to the minds and consciences of the individual, of the existence of this favor? It is true Mr. Keble has put them forth in this Preface, but he appeals, as we shall see, to *internal proof* only: and *experience* is their only test. These cannot exist anteriorly to joining the society.

But since this privilege belongs to the "High Church" school, and every "Low Churchman" is called necessarily to partake of it, let us see how he might or must apply Mr. Keble's own tests. 1st. As to *contentment* if there is special merit in remaining in the High Church body, beyond going to Catholicism, *because* the former is so much more unattractive, less splendid in its services, 'a smaller and comparatively disunited body," etc. (p. 25); there must be still greater merit of contentment in remaining with the Low Church, where all these disadvantages are tenfold greater." 2nd. As to *intellectual modesty*, "how can I pretend to weigh the arguments respecting the sense of sub-

scription and true meaning of the Articles, and the disputes on the Rubric and Prayer-book; how can I unravel the *Catena Patrum*, or pierce the cloud of witnesses, or decide betwixt conflicting charges of bishops? I had better remain 'content with such as I have;' 'I am where God has seen fit to place me,' etc., and therefore I will content myself with what I am." 3rd. As to *contrition*, "I feel that admitting sacramental helps to forgiveness, and seeking the relief of confession, and the comfort of absolution, would in part fill up that depth of sorrow, and diminish that total reliance on God's mercy, which now enter into my grief for sin." 4th. As to *love of sanctity*, "I am now in a position to sympathize with all evangelical Christians, and to rejoice in the success of their missionary labors, and their awakening of people's conscience: whereas on becoming a High Churchman, I must give them all up, and look on them as heretics and out of covenanted mercies." And 5th. As to *scandal*, "the embracing of Anglo-Catholic ceremonies and doctrines, causes great offence among those of my connection, equal to what would be inflicted by my going over to Popery." A Low Churchman or evangelical Anglican, could thus apply these tests against joining the High Church school of theology, and thus be cut off from the privileges belonging to it, under a special Providence. Now, as has been observed, this system, if so guided, ought to have

such external evidence as would draw others to itself.

But secondly, independent of this demonstration for the benefit of others, it should be furnished with such ordinary proof as may be required from every religious system. It should have a ground in clear declarations of Scripture, or in the symbols, or in some decree of a council, or in the Anglican Articles, or in the Prayer-book; or some where where men naturally go to learn the grounds of their faith. But there is nothing of this to be had: the whole is based upon Mr. Keble's applications of Butler's Analogy. Surely this is not enough to satisfy people, that such a theory comes of God, or has been approved by Him, so that thereon they may imperil their eternal salvation!

3. But, however, Mr. Keble does claim a divine sanction of his system of motives; and it does indeed grieve us sorely to have to state it. It is another of the many proofs of a popular adage—that "extremes meet." After objecting to himself, that it is easy to select similar motives in favor of any cause, he answers the difficulty in the following over-earnest tone:—

"But really the matter is too serious to be disposed of by any such general remark. Let those who are inclined so to deal with it, ask themselves as in the presence of Almighty God, whether these and other like considerations, *have not indeed been chosen out for their trial, not by any human pleader, but by His Providence, so that they cannot be neglected, or scrupulously overruled without profane disregard of Him.*"—P. 23.

We do unfeignedly regret to see this end of the greatest movement in favor of true religious guidance and principle, ever excited in the Anglican establishment. We deplore indeed this verification of past experience, and this terrible proof that there is no "safe way" out of the Church; on seeing those very men, who rose up boldly against the exercise of private judgment, and in favor of high dogmatic principle, now, not only come down to that very judgment, as the basis of religious conviction, but appealing to its exercise by the individual, in that form in which it is most dangerous, and which they would have most strongly reprobated; and making this un-Catholic principle the basis of communion with the Church. For it is clear that Mr. Keble, first, grounds his motives upon a direct manifestation of them by God to the individual; secondly, that he considers such a declaration so certain and binding as that its neglect is a "profane disregard" of God. Now it is through the imagination of course that such feelings or apparent convictions may come; and if we once admit their existence in doctrinal guidance—if we once allow that, in a particular body, God speaks to the individual directly, and gives him his proper motives for belonging to it, making his conviction of its safety depend upon such a communication, we do not see what more the most fanatical Dissenter can desire in the way of concession of his own principles. The Anabaptists of Germany, the Cromwellian Puritans

in England, or the Mormonites in America, can desire nothing more. And if we add to this, the species of illumination apparently claimed by, and conceded to, some of the present rulers of High-Churchism, the sort of extra-episcopal, or supra-primatial, jurisdiction exercised unscrupulously by them, and the unfearing assumption of dogmatism and dictation of duty which they practice; in other words, the bold leadership which they undertake in matters of faith and conscience, we are brought to feel that to the points of resemblance above mentioned, with ancient heresies, we may add a more painful one still in this system, in these indications of practical Montanism. When we consider the wonderful transition of a mind like Tertullian's from the principles of the *Præscriptiones* to the weakness of that delusion, we may be the less amazed at the fall, from the high tone of the "Tracts for the Times," to this miserable appeal to supernatural individual guidance. But we dismiss this distressing subject and proceed.

4. We must further object to Mr. Keble's system, that its illustration is conducted, no doubt unconsciously, by a most complete course of special pleading. Having laid down general principles they should have been tested by general applications. Instead of this we have particular cases, varied to suit each point, and no others. Thus, for the first two, we have the case proposed of Jews or Turks coming over to Christianity—a

very rare and unpractical one, and not calculated to give light on a matter of choice between two systems of Christianity. But they are chosen in part, to make out that "intellectual modesty" cannot hold with them, because they have to yield to testimony, not to demonstration: as though testimony delivered nearly two thousand years ago did not require much the same process for arriving at its certainty, as the settling of a doctrinal principle. Again, the Baptist is chosen to prove what is perhaps applicable to him alone of all Christians. But the whole argument, it will be seen, is wanting in simplicity, is far-fetched, and not like either a plain, or a safe, way.

5. It must be clear to any Catholic reader, that such grounds as Mr. Keble proposes, instead of inviting any one in communion with the Church, to leave it for "the Anglo-Catholic school," would apply with tenfold strength to him, as motives for remaining where he is. We need not go again through all the points at length; but certainly there is more ground for contentedness where there is so much room for gratitude, which a good Catholic daily feels for his position: there is more religious modesty in shrinking from condemning the Church of the whole world, and from abandoning the Church of the saints, for a partial and local division; there is better hope of contrition where penance is daily preached and regularly practiced as a sacrament; there is more love of sanctity, where every day throughout the year the

saints are proposed as models and objects of admiration, and the communion of saints is a practical doctrine; and certainly there is more danger of scandal from a Catholic's apostatizing, than from a change in any one else; for the latter happens daily and no one thinks much of it; but if a Catholic, especially a priest, abandons his Church, it is talked of, and loudly proclaimed, and he is made a great deal of for a time, by those whom he joins.

But we must not be content with this. The moral grounds on which a Catholic will hold to his religion, independent of theological ones, must have two characters, which are wanting in those proposed by Mr. Keble. First, they must be real and operative, not existing solely in instincts and feelings. Thus, for example, "love of holiness" must not be merely the affection for the quality in others, but the love of its practical diffusion. A Catholic might say, "I see in my Church a true love of holiness in children, shown by their careful education, their early training in works of piety, the jealous guard over the purity of their minds, and by the multitude of religious orders devoted to their instruction in morals." And looking at what he knows to be the mode of continuing this education in colleges and ecclesiastical seminaries on one side, and at what he may read and hear of public schools and universities on the other, he may come easily to a practical conclusion as to where real "love of sanctity" is to be found.

Again, he might consider "love of holiness" as exhibited in the desire to spread its practice among the poor: as, for instance, seeing in every ward of a Catholic hospital an altar and daily mass, and no patient allowed to die without viaticum and extreme unction; observing how diligently and effectually the poorest are trained to penitent confession of their sin, and how they are strengthened with the sacraments at the hour of death. He may further reckon the many appliances of holiness for every class, in "Spiritual Exercises," in missionary preaching, in confraternities, in meditation, in devotions to our Lord, His passion, and His perpetual presence in the Eucharist, in frequent and even daily communion, in the religious life, and in the countless ministrations of spiritual charity. Surely the possession of all this in a religion must be a far more powerful evidence of "love of holiness" existing in it, and throughout it, than the mere abstract supposition, that an Anglican can love the holiness of a Catholic saint, but a Catholic cannot on principle love the virtue of an Anglican. Nor indeed will this assertion hold. We are not aware that any Englishman has ever yet pushed the pretensions of his Establishment so far as to put its bishops into competition of holiness with St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis of Sales, or St. Thomas of Villanova; or any of its clergy with St. Philip Neri, St. Ignatius, or St. Francis Xavier; its philanthropists with St. John of God, St. Joseph Calasanctius, St. Camillus,

or St. Vincent; its holy women with St. Teresa, St. Rose, or St. Veronica. All these have lived in a communion with the Roman Church, which they would not have given up to save their lives; and true admiration or love of these great characters, implies approbation of the principles which formed them, and these principles were those of the "Roman" or "Popish" Church in their fullest extent, including abhorrence of the very schism which, according to Mr. Keble, now claims them as objects of love. A Catholic, then, who believes that all that they believed, and all they did was holy and sprung from a principle of holiness, may truly love them. But an Anglican, who must condemn them in many things, yea, and mostly in the very things which *they* most loved, cannot truly be said to love their holiness. Then again, if these present standards of holiness, on the other side there may be great and amiable virtues, but not more; and these a Catholic can love and admire in any one; and he will bear testimony to them in an Anglican bishop, or in whomsoever they may be found.

But further, the evidences of active "love of sanctity" in the Catholic Church, are not confined to the observation of one within its pale, but start up to the eyes of any beholder who stands without. Indeed, they are acknowledged, sometimes they are coveted and envied. Even those who choose to consider them as the workings of a pernicious activity, bear testimony to their existence. It is

not, therefore, wonderful if many, indeed if most, of those who join the Church, are drawn thither by the moral evidence thus presented to them, more than by mere dogmatic conviction. A sister of charity may be but a poor reasoner, and yet she may be a powerful argument. A visit of a priest to a dying man, in the hospital, often converts the tenant of the next bed, though he has not overheard a word. One attendance at benediction of the most blessed Sacrament, has made those who came to scoff, remain to pray and to adore, though there was no sermon. We have heard of the heir to a peerage being converted, merely by seeing his poor Irish countrymen hearing mass exposed to the rain, on the bleak edge of the bog. Such is the working of this moral motive, "love of sanctity," in the Catholic Church — it is a powerful bond to the Church for those who belong to it, and it is a demonstration that convinces, often at first sight, those that seek for truth.

We would gladly go through some of the other grounds suggested by Mr. Keble, and show how much more powerfully they tell in favor of the Catholic Church in both these senses. But we think we are spared this trouble by his own acknowledgments. For at p. 54, he seems to put aside the question of a Catholic's having to leave *his* Church, and the applicability of the five motives to the purpose of restraining him, as not being to his readers "an immediate practical point;" and contents himself with showing, that they are

not good ground for justifying the remaining in dissent. But more than this, Mr. Keble seems to acknowledge that in the face of these grounds for fidelity to Anglicanism, there may be an overwhelming and divine call to abandon it. The following is the passage to which we allude:—

"Now what is the result of such a feeling as this, on a modest and thoughtful mind? Plainly to render a man more easily contented with his place, more willing to hope and wait with patience, as having a right to reckon certainly upon a great deal of unconscious sympathy, and virtual communion in divine offices, on the part of those even who esteem themselves most alienated from him. But suppose the same person once made aware that, in order to stay where he is, he must contradict something which has been held as an axiom by the mass of believers from time immemorial; some rule, so to call it, of the common law of the Christian kingdom, this is surely another case altogether. The providential call on such an one to consider where he is, and why, becomes much more direct; and the possible sacrifice, if as great or greater, yet more evidently worth making."—P. 63.

What does this mean, but that under given circumstances all the motives and feelings described in the Preface may be overbalanced by some still stronger; and that an Anglican may have a Providential call to sacrifice them all, and embrace what is proposed to him? Now, putting aside this theoretical system of individual Providential calls, apart from the working of grace to second ordinary modes for arrival at truth, this admission destroys, to our minds, the whole theory. For if we really allow the existence of objective truth in

religion, a *Providential* call, which draws away a soul from its actual convictions to others directly opposed to them, must be considered a call from error to truth. The supposition of the opposite would be sheer blasphemy. Now if we consider that the movement from Anglicanism to Catholicity almost invariably, and necessarily, involves losses of every sort, in a worldly sense, and puts on new burthens and restraints, whereas almost every imaginable motive conspires with the natural *vis inertiæ* of the mind to keep the Anglican in his place, it does not seem difficult to decide which alone can be the true, and which the simulated, call. The difference with us is this. As an ordinary case, we never feel, or hear of, a call to leave our Church; but all possible motives urge us to stay where we are. We therefore are not called to make this discernment of spirits, and balance between a possible Providential call to remain in the Church, and one to abandon it. But the moment such a conflict is admitted as probable, or even possible, we must conclude that the theory is inadmissible to this extent; that a real call can only be in one direction, and that the call in the other can only be a delusion. Now the rules of ordinary judgments in things spiritual, will give us easy criterions for determining which is one and which the other. The side which self-love, indolence, fear of persecution or ridicule, national prejudices, those of education, authority of those whom we love, dislike of giving offence, pride which shrinks

from danger, repugnance to self-condemnation, the side, we say, which these and such-like feelings, naturally, and without further bias, would bear to, and seek to justify, must be the suspicious one; and a "Providential call" which runs parallel with, and seconds such corrupt tendencies, may be well put away as an illusion. On the other hand, symptoms of a "Providential call," which would lead us to become as little children, and learn our catechism over again, to revise our past lives and account our former wisdom foolishness, which would present the cross at every turn and thorns on every footstep, which would "show us only what things we should have to suffer" for Christ's blessed sake—may not only be safely listened to, but may not be safely neglected. And if we are asked, in return, why Catholics may not have equally to go back upon the grounds of their adhesion to the Church, and make a similar comparison of motives? the reply is simple: "because we do not experience, nor admit, the existence of any such call. We remain where we are, because nothing ever invites us to leave our position. Our pastures are too pleasant for the flock to stray."

We have confined ourselves entirely to the reasoning pursued by Mr. Keble to justify an Anglican for rejecting inquiry, and remaining contented with his own sect, just as he finds it; that is, if he belong to the Anglo-Catholic, or High Church, school. We have totally omitted all notice of a large, and almost detached, portion

of his Essay, which ranges from p. 33 to p. 54, because it enters directly into controversy on higher matters—such as the marks of the Church; and if it ever have to be examined, will require a full and separate notice. Perhaps, indeed, some abler hand may undertake the task, though not a difficult one. But there is an observation in the work, which brings us back to the regretful feelings with which we commenced this article. "Neither," writes Mr. Keble, "are providential hints wanting, especially calculated to keep us in our places at this time. The stir and movement for the better within our own walls, as if God had some especial work in store for us, has not quite passed away, as might have been feared." (P. 68.) *Has not quite passed away!* What a melancholy consolation for one who began "the stir and movement," not with a view that it *should* pass away, but that it should live and grow, and gather might. *Ignem veni mittere in terram et quid volo nisi ut accendatur?* Was not this the bold, but sacred purpose of the agitation caused? Was it not to set the whole Establishment on fire, with a holy flame of zeal and love? Was it the principle of *quieta non movere?* or "What things a man has, with those let him be content," that animated Mr. Keble and his companions in making the movement and stir? And were they right? Then, these maxims on which his present Essay is based, or towards which it converges, are not safe or fit ones in this matter. Were they

wrong? Then, how can the continuance of the success of their efforts be a providential hint to guide their conduct? And if that activity, as blessed by God, is shown to be approved, how can a contrary course be now the safest one? We have seen, at the outset, that the movement in Anglicanism commenced by a mental activity and a persevering research, the very reverse of what Mr. Keble now advises. Is it not inconsistent to look at it, at one and the same time, as a providential action in the system, and as opposed to motives based upon providential workings?

But we sincerely hope, that there is now "a movement and a stir" within those walls to which Mr. Keble alludes, which will be a providential hint to many, *not* to stay in their place. While we have been perusing his Preface, there has been excited in the Establishment a turmoil which cannot fail to shake the acquiescence of many in providential positions. Almost at the very birth of this Review, "the Oxford Controversy" on Dr. Hampden afforded us an opportunity of examining into the position of the Anglican Establishment.* Mr. Keble's "Sermon on Primitive Tradition," now reprinted, presented us another text for an analogous subject.† We find it strange to see, after so many years, the same characters still before us; but in how reversed an attitude. Dr.

* No. i. p. 250 [p. 3.]

† No. v. p. 45 [p. 105.]

Hampden, whose condemnation by High Church power and vigor, gave us hope of a possible return to vitality in the Establishment, exalted to the episcopal dignity; and Mr. Keble, a teacher in the school that condemned him, fallen to the advocacy of being content with things as they are, that is, as they were before the school arose. We should now, indeed, be sorry to interfere in the personal contest against the Regius Professor's nomination, or discuss his theological fitness for a mitre. Even allowing all that has been written against him, we do not see that sentence of exclusion can be pronounced against him. If the bench of bishops is to be assayed dogmatically, and none admitted to a seat thereon who cannot stand the ordeal, it might indeed prove a hard task to fix the standard of orthodoxy; but Dr. Hampden would have equal right with others to the advantage of its vagueness. This, however, is not the question which interests *us*. The position and the prospects of High Church principles and of their advocates, seem to be prominently brought out by what has occurred. We shall not close the year inopportunely by some reference to it.

At the moment then that we are writing, a great and truly important conflict exists between the civil and the ecclesiastical power in this kingdom. For the first time, we believe, not only in the memory of man, but for a century, the rulers of the Establishment have openly and publicly ob-

jected to what they acknowledge to be an act of the supremacy,—the appointment of a bishop. See after see has been filled up by prelates holding every variety of opinion, and no protest was ever made, no opposition ever raised. At length Dr. Hampden, who, less fortunate than other professors of theology, has been censured by the University of Oxford, raises a storm, which presents various interesting points of observation.

The first is the conflict of bishops. Twelve or thirteen occupiers of the episcopal bench unite in an address to the prime minister, calling upon him to pause in his design, and not urge forward the proposed election. In a matter like this, unanimity in that body would have been of the utmost importance. A united episcopate in a matter so nearly affecting the doctrines of which it is the natural guardian, and the authority of which it ought to be the jealous keeper, might indeed have been obviously expected. But one half of the body is silent, and one or two speak boldly in opposition. Surely this looks like a house divided against itself.

The second is, the form of the proceedings. So serious a matter demanded surely some solemnity of ecclesiastical forms. Out of two archbishops, one at least might have headed the opposition, and put his signature to the condemnatory document. Both, however, have prudently refrained from acting. Then, we are given to understand by the documents published, that it is more in

their private capacity, than as princes and shepherds of God's Church, that the bishops address the minister of the crown. In fact, as Lord John Russell truly informs them, they do not even take on themselves any responsibility of expressing an opinion, still less a judgment, in the matter; but cast the whole burden on the clergy, giving their want of confidence in Dr. Hampden as the ground of their remonstrance. There is, indeed, a weakness in the mode of proceeding, which has given the prime minister a signal advantage over its authors.

The third point worthy of observation is the tone of every document, whether the joint address of the bishops, or Dr. Philpott's letter to Lord John Russell. The prerogative of supremacy is fully acknowledged, without the intimation of a remedial power in the hands of the poor Establishment. It is not anywhere hinted, that there is a line of assumption, which the state power must not presume to pass, and a line of duty, which no effort of its will ever induce the bishops to overstep. There is no setting forth of the doctrines of St. Chrysostom or St. Ambrose, on the true character of imperial and of episcopal power, when the two shall clash or be brought into conflict. A gentlemanly, orderly, quiet, remonstrance, almost supplicative, from the hierarchy to a lay minister, without one great motive urged, or any argument from the law of God or of the Church, or a long argumentative wrestling with him, on the part of

one of the bench—such are the grave ecclesiastical documents which posterity will find to record a struggle on the part of what calls itself the Church of, or in, England, against the unjust exercise of a royal prerogative, similar to what made a St. Edmund or St. Anselm exiles, and a St. Thomas a martyr. But the days of heroes have long since passed away. The spirit of the Cross departs ever with its emblem.

On the other hand, the temporal minister of state deals with the bishops much as he would have done with a corn-law deputation. He seems to consider the matter a fair field for reasoning; and he enters into the arena, nothing loath. He combats them foot to foot—denies, one by one, every position which they lay down—considers himself quite as good a judge as they on the validity of dogmatical decisions of the Convocation—looks upon the whole question as one of prerogative, and intimates an opinion, that not reason, but clamor and prejudice, have raised this ecclesiastical storm. And on another occasion, more explicitly than on this, he intimates that the Establishment wants still more protestantizing, as though he considered it his duty to blend in just proportions the various ingredients of their religious system, and restore the balance of opposite elements which rule in this most heterogeneous mass. Should the influx of latitude in dogmatic views, now introduced, turn too much the scale, it may become the duty of the prime minister to throw

into the other side a bishop of decided Anglo-Catholic principles and feelings, and so further catholicize the Establishment. But we are inclined to believe, that it will be easier to protestantize than to catholicize, it.

On the whole, the struggle is one that must interest us deeply. On its issue much must depend. If the government yield to the ecclesiastical pressure, it will have given an example of deference such as has not been witnessed since the Reformation; and we can well understand the use that will be made of it. But we do not anticipate such a result. We believe that another heavy blow and sad discouragement, is in store for the Anglican Establishment, which may further undeceive too hopeful minds, and materially alter "the position of English Churchmen."

THE

FOURTH OF OCTOBER.

From the *Dublin Review* for Dec, 1836.

Art II.—1. *The Catholic Church; Five Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Blackburne, on occasion of the commemoration of the Reformation celebrated October 4th*, 1835. By the Rev. J. Whittaker, D.D.

2. *The Duty of contending for the Faith; A Sermon preached in the Church of St. John, Swansea, on Sunday, October 4th*, 1835. By the Rev. Henry Roxby Maude, LL. B.

3. *The Prevalence of Popery considered; A Sermon preached in Mount Sion Chapel, Tunbridge Wells, on Lord's-day evening, October 4th*, 1835. By B. Slight.

Could we for a moment conceive the times and seasons of God's appointment, leaving the axes of their unerring revolutions, to interfere in each other's functions; or rather, to descend from a sphere so high above our theme—could we imagine such a tribunal as Lucian has devised for the letters of the alphabet, before which any day of the year might sue its neighbor for trespassing on its appropriated functions—we are right sure that the fifth day of moody November, in the year of our

Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, would apply for a solemn writ against the fourth day of the preceding month, as having unjustifiably usurped its duties in the calendar of bigotry. It is true, that, for some years, thanks to the good sense and feeling of our fellow-countrymen, the bonfires of that day had waxed pale and faint; Guy Fawkes, with his lantern, had been plucked by the police, as a nuisance, out of the hands of city urchins; the bells in many places had refused to peal their tones of gratitude, and even the indulgence of immunity from lesson and birch had been, in many schools, withdrawn, for the commemoration of the festival. These were bad symptoms; and something new must be done. Consultation was held, due deliberation was taken, and the sacerdotal caste decided that one great tercentenary cycle of the Reformation was concluded; that, during its course, a full degree of the zodiac had been passed over, by a retrograde movement, so that, consequently, the heliacal rising of the dog-star of fanaticism must, for the next Sothic period, be placed exactly one month and one day earlier,* on the 4th of October. As far as we have an interest in the matter, the change is in our favor. We would rather have the grand festival of Protestantism celebrated as a commemoration of its own principle, by the observance of the day on which its palladium or *ancile*—a Bible

* The great Egyptian cycle, called the Sothic period, was determined by the heliacal rising of Sirius, or the dog-star.

without comment, in the vulgar tongue—is supposed to have come down from Heaven, than see its triumphs marked by feast days of a political character, calculated to perpetuate the evil feelings, which may have once prevailed among members of the same social body. Not that, even here, invidious comparison was intended to be eschewed; for care was taken, that the medal, which commemorated the final translation of the Bible by Myles Coverdale, on the 4th of October, should, on the reverse, exhibit Popery locking up the word of God. But still, the ground of rejoicing, now chosen, was less offensively hostile to us, in its nature, than that which had previously been selected, to arouse the failing enthusiasm of Protestantism.

The calling of a general assembly to a festival of rejoicing, the proclamation of a universal jubilee, the directing of the voices of all preachers, and the prayers of all congregations, to a specific theme of thanksgiving, are offices, one would have naturally supposed, belonging to the highest authority, and requiring a power vested only in the superiors of a Church. But, on this occasion, it was a matter of private responsibility. The bishops slumbered, the Metropolitans took no part, the *Church* was silent; while others, more zealous, deemed them dumb dogs that would not bark, and undertook themselves to raise the new war-whoop of bigotry, from one extremity of the island to the other. Marvels were, indeed, expected from

this new combination of the forces and energies of Protestantism. The saints had long languished for some new manifestation of the Spirit; the happy millennium had been expected; the Irvings and the Fabers had prophesied its speedy approach, in the downfall of Popery; yet Popery did not even seem to totter; the land of promise was nearly in possession, but the walls of the spiritual Jericho seemed yet proud and strong. Proclamation went out, that, on the fourth day of October, 1835, being Sabbath, all the tribes should be gathered together in their strength, and should march in solemn array about its bulwarks, bearing with them their boasted palladium; while all the priests and Levites should sound forth their hostile trumpets, and shake, from coping to foundation-stone, the olden walls that rested upon the rock. Long, and loud, and sonorous was the blast, grating at once and grateful to the ears of the zealous; and if, to the honor of our countrymen, there were many parishes where this unauthorized summons was not answered, there were not wanting those, which, in the exuberance of their pious emotion, anticipated the chosen day, and even prolonged to succeeding Sabbaths, the sweet music of their warlike notes. Nay, not so contented, they even felt themselves called to publish their scores for the benefit of posterity, and of those less fortunate souls who heard not their strain. Of this character are the publications before us.

Let not the reader, for a moment, imagine,

that we have selected them from the mass of similar effusions, as though exhibiting eloquence of a nobler order, or learning of greater research, or feelings of a higher standard, or arguments of a more formidable power. The choice, if choice it could be called, has been purely accidental. The pamphlets on our table fell in our way, we know not how, came we remember not whence; they were skimmed over in a few moments, and then cast away; nor would they have been deemed by us worthy of farther notice, had not one or two reflections, that sprung up in our minds after perusing them, appeared to us worth pursuing. In fact, they belong to the ephemera of the times; they are creatures called into existence by a day of accidental warmth, to dance upon the running waters, to flutter over the stream of events, in which they soon must meet their grave. A naturalist may catch a few, and find amusement and instruction in anatomizing them; but, when he has studied a few specimens, he finds them all alike, and too insignificant to repay the minute dissection they require.

The reflections, to which we have just alluded, are obvious and simple, and a few lines will explain them. It is determined, on a certain day, to unite all Protestants in voice and heart, for the commemoration of a certain event, vital to their religion, and containing in itself the practical verification of its essential principle. The Bible alone, accessible to every Christian, his individual right

and possession,—the Bible alone, without an infallible guide, without a dogmatical authority in the Church—such is the basis of Protestantism, in contradistinction to Catholicity. Coverdale is supposed first to have rendered this principle of practical utility, by conferring on this nation a Bible which could be practically used. We waive the inquiry whether the groundwork of the festival be correct, that is, whether the completion of Coverdale's version can be considered the first presentation of an English version to our country: for we wish to make our present investigation into principles, and are, consequently willing to assume the correctness of the fact. It is, therefore, proclaimed and provided, that, on a certain day, the great Protestant principle shall be solemnly commemorated throughout the land, and the sympathies of all who acknowledge it, are ordered to be concentrated on a point equally dear to all. It is a subject as important and valuable to the Dissenter as to the Churchman, to the Evangelical as to the High Church clergyman, to the Hierarchist as to the Congregationist. For one Sunday at least, out of the Sabbaths of three hundred years, a unity of object, a harmony of feeling, a sameness of doctrine, a union of charity, an assimilation of thought, will pervade the whole body of Protestantism, and impel it to move, by a common law, in one given direction. At least, were the superiors of our Church, domestic or general, to command the observance of a certain day, as the

18th of January, in grateful commemoration of the blessing of unity bestowed upon the Church, through the authority vested in its pastors, and chiefly in the occupier of St. Peter's chair, we are sure that the same doctrine, the same motives of thankfulness, the same instructions would be presented in every church and chapel which obeyed the call. There might be richer treats of eloquence and erudition in one than in another; but the theme, and the feeling, would be but one throughout.

Well, then, was it so with the great tercentenary commemoration of the principles of Protestantism? Our materials are indeed scanty; but luckily, the fewer elements of comparison we possess, the smaller the chances of dissimilarity. If, therefore, we shall find, in a few instances, wide dissent, we may well conclude that an extension of our objects of comparsion would only still further increase it. We will, however, draw occasionally upon other productions, in date nearly contemporary, and in purpose not dissimilar.

The first consequence, which we should naturally have expected from the character of this festival, would be an accordance in the great principles of the Reformation. But, had it been the lot of any one to hear two or more of these discourses, preached the same day, for the same object, he certainly would have been at a loss to discover, that anything more than the triumph of particular sectarian principles was intended to be commemo-

rated. The vicar of Blackburne, in the vivacity of his zeal, edified his congregation with five sermons on the occasion, and headed them with the pompous title of "The Catholic Church." He stands in the pulpit, with all the solemnity of a minister belonging to a well-endowed Church, to establish her claim to be the *Catholic* Church, and to thunder his withering anathemas against Popery and Papists. He minces not the matter indeed; he dilutes not, sweetens not, the bitter cup which he thrusts upon his neighbors' lips. Superstition, vice, ignorance, idolatry, infidelity—these are our qualities, these our possession; while the church-goers and rate-payers of Blackburne, 5,000, we are told, in number (p. 4), "belong to a pure apostolic Church, as nearly approaching to perfection in doctrine and government, as any that has existed since the apostolic time"! (P. 45.) Then, too, the reverend vicar hath great compassion on "the poor and ignorant Papist," because he must "implicitly receive whatever his priest tells him he must believe, do, and *pay*, in order to obtain eternal life!" Why did he not conclude his sermons by the apposite prayer, which would so justly have summed up their substance and embodied their spirit:—"Lord, we give thee thanks that we are not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers; as also are *these Papists?*" For, while these arrogant assumptions of exclusive righteousness were thus proclaimed in the parish church, the Catholic congregation was not far distant, learning,

we doubt not, from their worthy pastor, to be lowly before God, and meek and charitable towards all men.

The conception, then, formed by Dr. Whittaker, of the principles and feelings which this commemorative festival should excite, seems to be, that all acrimonious feelings against his Catholic neighbors and fellow-citizens should be stirred up and renewed, that a barrier of hatred and bigotry should be drawn between members of the two religions, and that one should be held up to the other, as a "hideous mass of spiritual deformity and falsehood," as "the patron of ignorance, vice, and infidelity." (P. 72.) Gracious heavens! And is *his* Protestantism then synonymous with Christianity, with the religion of charity and love? Was the spirit of the Reformation one of hatred and antagonism, of misrepresentation and falsehood, that it should be deemed duly celebrated, by five mortal discourses, rank with a festering exuberance of these antichristian and antisocial feelings? And hath the mantle of its founders fallen from Heaven, if it could do no better than warm its inheritors into so unholy a zeal, and animate them only to scatter firebrands of religious animosity among a peaceful and friendly neighborhood?

For the honor of human nature, we hope that no religion, aspiring to the name of Christian, will recognize, as a worthy solemnization of its principles, a display of such unchristian sentiments. But after all, this "Catholic Church," the beauties and

perfections of which have charmed the vicar of Blackburne into so zealous a hatred of Popery, of what does it consist? The call upon men to rejoice in the translation of the Bible, was intended to unite all the tribes of Protestantism in one shout of praise; it was a motive of common joy to all, and all dissentient feelings were to merge in one universal song of gratitude. Dr. Whittaker too gives us, as a reason why the Protestant Churches should be considered the Catholic Church, rather than ours, that "they prevail over a larger space of the globe, (!) and are actuated by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognize, as brethren in Christ, those who are not governed by the same laws." (P. 37.) The "Catholic Church," therefore, consists of Protestant congregations, spread more extensively over the world than the Catholics are, and recognizing one another as brethren, though they have different governments. Now, we beg the reader to compare these words with the following passage:—

"Our National Church of England was foremost in asserting the common rights of Christians—among the first to throw off the subjugation of Rome. *Many (so called) Protestant Churches have apostatized from the primitive faith of Christ, and are now to be found fighting among our adversaries. But the Church of England ... still exists, still remains the same as she was three centuries since, and still lifts her banner aloft to the nations.*—P. 19.

How, we ask, were the hearers of these two passages to reconcile them together? The Protestant Churches are more extensively dispersed

over the world than the Catholic, and yet *many* so called are apostates, and fight on the other side. Which are these many? Switzerland we may suppose is one, in consequence of its defection to Socinianism; Protestant France is tainted with the same error, and Germany is deeply involved in rationalism. But the learned Doctor tells us as much. After saying that "it was quite otherwise on the continent, in France, Switzerland, and Germany," than in happy England, he proceeds as follows:—

"And what has been the consequence? *They are all of them, with few, I believe no exceptions, corrupted as to the essentials of Christianity.* The cankerworm of Socinianism, the dry rot of infidelity, have eaten completely through the whole body, substance, and into the very core of these foreign Churches, which at first were as pure and as scriptural as was our own in the time of Edward VI. . . . Most of these Churches, to which we have made allusion, are chargeable with direct heresy; and are *no more to be considered part of Christ's Catholic Church*, than we have shown the apostate Church of Rome to be."—P. 104.

Once more we ask, in the name of consistency, what and where are the Protestant Churches, that prevail over a larger portion of the world than ours, if France, Switzerland, and Germany, are as little a part of the Catholic Church as we are? England and America, we must imagine, possessed of some mystical ubiquity, compose this universal Church. But still more, we ask, how is Protestantism shown to be Catholic, "by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognize as

brethren in Christ those who are not governed by the same laws," when the very teacher who gives this proof of Catholicity, unsparingly cuts away from the Church immense masses of people, yea, entire nations, who glory in the name of Protestants? Is this a whit more liberal than what is imputed to us Catholics? Such, then, is the spirit with which a learned vicar thought it meet to celebrate the great commemoration of Protestant principles; venting the most unjust and unfeeling abuse against a religion, which he manifestly understands not, and then shutting out, in a series of almost irreconcilable passages, the great bulk of Protestants, who take the Bible alone for their guide, from all participation in the joy of the day, or the blessings of the Reformation.* Hence it is plain, that, so far from the principle thus celebrated, or the motive assigned, having led Protestants to anything like unity, or an all-embracing harmony, it has only given a ground to the High Church divine, to utter condemnation on all Protestants of another sect or complexion. In short, the great lessons taught to the good people of Blackburne, in commemoration of the translation of the Bible, were, that Catholics were everything

* Still further must the auditors of these different passages have been bewildered, upon hearing the following sentence in the concluding discourse:—"But so far as the essentials of the Christian faith are concerned, we know that there are no differences of any moment among Protestants."—P. 100.

wicked, that all continental Protestant Churches were out of the pale of salvation, and that all Dissenters lived in the sin of schism! (P. 100.) There is a catholically liberal spirit indeed!

Well, turn we now to Tunbridge Wells, and let us hear the wholesome instructions breathed by Mr. Slight, upon the same occasion, in Mount Sion Chapel. His discourse bears a more stirring title,—"The Prevalence of Popery considered." Think you that a statistical view of the progress and strength of our religion is here going to be unfolded? Think you that the number of our churches, and colleges, and monastic houses will be stated, and the amount of our clergy, and the zeal of our proselytism and the success of our efforts, set before the world? Then, greatly will you be disappointed. This is not the Popery, whose prevalence Mr. Slight wishes to expose. He has no such narrow views; a few paragraphs despatch us; we are soon put down:—"There was a Church at Jerusalem before there was one at Rome;" *therefore* the Pope's supremacy "carries its own refutation on the very front of it." (P. 5.)

But he hastens on to greater things, and celebrates the day, by proving that the Church of England is essentially Popish, and denouncing it as evil. Thus he writes:—

"But it must be observed, there are certain leading peculiarities about these Roman Catholic principles and opinions which will serve to show, that there is really far more of

Popery among Protestants, than at first sight they may be disposed to admit, or than is generally imagined. And if Popish views and principles are thus to be found among Protestants, will it not demonstrate, that Popery prevails, not only where it is ostensibly the religion of the land, but also where it is not—not only within the pale of the Romish Church, but also without it?"—P. 6.

He then proceeds to give illustrative proofs of "the Popery of Protestantism," as he facetiously calls it, the first of which is the exclusiveness of some sects, as of that which forms the Established Church, and which looks down upon all Dissenters as heretics or schismatics. "Surely," exclaims Mr. Slight, "such sentiments ill accord with the free and generous spirit of Protestantism. And what is more, they are plainly at variance with the lovely principles of the religion of Christ. They may pass current at Rome, but that they should ever be broached and published in Protestant England, and that too in the nineteenth century, is matter of painful regret. The Popery of Protestantism calls aloud for another reformation. Would that some gigantic arm were raised up to shake this cloud-capt Babylon to its base, and level it to the dust!" What already? After only 300 years, another reformation? We thought Babylon was a term too venerably applied to us, to be so easily transferred to Dr. Whittaker's pure apostolic Church. And is this the spirit in which delivery from Popery, through Coverdale's translation, is proposed to be commemorated? Is it by exciting hatred of the main support of Protestantism? Is

it by denouncing the Church, which proclaimed the commemorative festival, as equal to Popery in its corruption, and as calling already for another reformation? Listen now to the following appeal, based upon the passage just quoted:—

"When will there be a brotherly exchange of pulpits, so ardently desired by many, among ministers of various denominations? When will the clergyman of the Established Church be seen to stand in his dissenting brother's pulpit; and the dissenting minister, in his turn, be allowed to minister in the clergyman's pulpit?—For my own part, beloved brethren, it would afford me great pleasure to open this pulpit to any *godly evangelical minister* of the Establishment, who will come into it, and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ."—P. 8.

What, exclusive even in this pathetic and liberal appeal? Is it only to one section of the Anglican Church,—to the "godly and evangelical," that the right hand of fellowship is offered by the Dissenter? Is it not with *all* Protestants, who follow the Bible alone, that, on such an occasion, he will be ready to fraternize? But Mr. Slight finds still stronger indications of Popery in the Established Church:—

"Is it not of the nature of Popery to imagine, that the application of a little water to the body in baptism, effects the regeneration of the soul? Is it not of the nature of Popery to affirm that none but ministers, ordained in one particular form and connection, are the true and lawful ministers of Christ? Is it not of the nature of Popery that sick and dying people should attach peculiar importance to their receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before they die, as if the act would serve as a passport to Heaven?"—P. 10.

Alas! who would have imagined, that the summons issued by clergymen of the English Church would have been so answered! that the commemoration, which they proclaimed, would have been solemnized only by denouncing their Church as co-partner in guilt and corruption with the one from whose dominion they rejoiced in having been delivered, by declaring it to be Babylon, and treating its sacraments and practices as fond and superstitious! What admirable harmony of principle, and unity of thought, is even the common ground of separation from us calculated to produce among Protestants!

But there yet remains the unkindest cut of all. We have seen the minister of the Established Church excluding all foreign Protestants from a share in the blessings of the Reformation, and involving all separatists from his establishment in the guilt of schism; we have heard the Dissenter, almost at the same hour, retorting on that Church, as embodying the Popery against which the solemnity of that day summoned men to be on their guard; we shall now see the hostility, hitherto confined to the besieged and their besiegers, widely spreading itself within the city, at the very moment when its whole energies should be united against the pressure from without. With a slight alteration we may say

——"Iliacos extra muros peccatur et intra."

The third orator on our list, the Rev. Henry

Roxby Maude, vicar of St. Olave and rector of St. Martin's, belongs apparently to the Evangelical section of the Anglican Church. We, of course, are not spared in the outpourings of his zealous spirit; and the "Man of Sin" and the "Son of Perdition" are made to stalk forth before the rev. orator's audience, under the hideous and odious aspect of our "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats!" (Pp. 9, 10.) But he has evidently a pet theory, which forms the basis of some interesting remarks. It is, that all men are naturally Papists: "Every unconverted human being," he says, "is in heart a Papist. Turn back to the records of Grecian and Roman superstition, and in them you may trace Popery. Look towards the polished infidels of India, and behold them suspended from the hook, or crushed beneath the car of Juggernaut. Again, turn to the untutored savages of Africa, and the same spirit, under different aspects, will be found to actuate them all." (P. 11.) Here, at least, is a novel argument in favor of our claim to the title "Catholic;" for it gives our religion universality far beyond what we ever pretended to. For ages, since the days of Julian and Faustus, writers had tried to annoy us by calling us imitators of Grecian and Roman idolatry, and copiers of Indian superstitions. We like the conversion of the argument, and admire the ingenuity, which makes all these nations, and the Africans to boot, right proper Papists. But mark what follows:—

"No; detesting, as well we may, this bias of the human breast, we need not scruple to aver our belief, that, even in this comparatively enlightened age, too many there are among the ranks of nominal Protestants, who, could they blind their reason to the gross absurdities involved in such profession, would gladly sink into the extended arms of the See of Rome, and surrender the keeping of their consciences to those who are content to make void the word of God through human tradition."—P. 11.

It is not, perhaps, difficult to understand what portion of the Church is here signified, as already impregnated with the salt of Popery; but, to aid our researches, we will call in one who evidently entertains similar views, and is more fearless in exposing them. The Rev. Mr. Bickersteth's "Remarks on the Progress of Popery"* have gone through three editions at least, and may consequently be supposed to express the feelings of a large class of churchmen, among whom he is numbered, as rector of Watton. We conceive we have a right to place him in the same category as the preceding authors; for he approves, at least, of their doings, in these words:—"The preaching of Tercentenary Sermons, on the 4th of October, 1835, was a commencement of a practice, too important, and too useful to be discontinued." (P. 70.) He is, indeed, a man in whom the bowels of controversial mercy have been wrung dry of all compassion. His motto, like Laud's, is "thorough;" he bewails emancipation; he weeps over the abolition of the declaration against tran-

* London, 1836, 3rd edition.

substantiation, and the invocation of saints, as "a departure from the principles of Protestantism;" and he upbraids the lukewarmness of those who are lax in preaching that Popery is the "mystery of iniquity, Antichrist," and another personage of the Apocalypse, over whose name modesty generally casts a veil, but on whose attributes and titles the riot of Mr. Bickersteth's imagination or zeal betrays him, more than once, into a coarseness of phraseology and of quotation, which, perhaps, has a zest, unknown to us poor sinners, for the palate of the saints. Catholics have been charged with uncharitableness in proclaiming danger of salvation to all that are not in the pale of Christ's true Church; but Mr. Bickersteth leaves no apology requisite for us in future. "The third duty," he tells us, "is to denounce God's wrath on adherence to Popery." And he then proceeds, in a fervid strain, to decry "the spirit of modern infidelity, miscalled liberalism," which proclaims it uncharitable to denounce God's judgments upon millions of our fellow-subjects. (P. 72.) At any rate, he does not incur his own censure. With many protestations of charity, he most feelingly gives us over to ruin and perdition.

We premise this statement, that the character of the writer, whose sentiments we are about to cite, may be properly known; but we must refer those to his book, who desire a rich treat of declamatory and exclamatory abuse, poured out in language which may indeed be the dialect of zeal,

but which, to our simple minds, appears not to be written with the alphabet of charity. Suffice it to say, that, in the exuberance which he manifests of the former quality, Popery is pronounced to be worse than infidelity. (P. 5.) But if we are thus placed in the comparative degree of evil and wickedness, what are we to think forms the superlative, and caps the climax of iniquity? Mohammedanism, peradventure, or Heathenism, or Judaism, or Socinianism? Oh no;—Protestantism! ay, the Protestantism of the greater part of his own Church? Listen, reader, believe and wonder:—

"A Protestant minister asked a Papist why she did not attend the Protestant Church. She replied, for three reasons; because she heard nothing of Jesus Christ, found no worshipping congregation, and saw no connection between the minister and the people. It is too true, this has been the awful state of many a nominal Protestant *parish church* in our country; and we see in it why Popery has so grown, *and Popery which does hold truth, though it be leavened, is better than such a formal dead Protestantism.*"—P. 66.

The religion of many a parish church, therefore, is more corrupt than even Popery, which is worse than infidelity! After this, let Catholics be blamed for speaking severely or strongly against what they deem the errors of the Establishment, while her own sons thus vie with each other in vilifying all within her pale who differ from their peculiar party. But this is not, by any means, the clearest passage in Mr. Bickersteth's wrathful effusion, regarding the High Church portion of his

brethren. A considerable part of his treatise is occupied in proving that the growth of Popery is mainly owing to a decline of Protestant principles (p. 27), and in denouncing, as unprotestant, the publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (pp. 28—42); and then he speaks of a well-known knot of Oxford divines as "a highly respectable, learned, and devout class of men, the tendency of whose writings is departure from Protestantism, and approach to papal doctrine."—P. 44.

One, who evidently thinks with the estimable men thus attacked, has stepped forth to confute Mr. Bickersteth,* and has, in our opinion, succeeded, so far as an imperfect system, approximating to truth, can overthrow a tissue of rant and absurdity. The author cannot, indeed, escape from the foul blot which taints the pages of every Protestant controvertist whom we happen to open, that of calling us by names which have ever been used offensively. He speaks, too, of holding our doctrines up to "public detestation;" and winds up his denunciations by telling us, that our religion is "a mystery of iniquity." (P. 10.) These are, perhaps, propitiatory concessions made by the author; but he satisfactorily answers Mr. Bickersteth's childish and false assertions, that the Catholic religion is Antichrist,—because, forsooth, it

* Observations on a work by Mr. Bickersteth, entitled, "Remarks on the Progress of Popery." By the Rev. W Brudenell Baxter, A.M., Lond. 1836.

denies Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh! He reprobates, in a tone much more worthy of a professed minister of peace, not only the use of such opprobrious epithets towards us, as the rector of Watton wishes to have habitually in every Protestant mouth, but also, the preaching on themes only calculated to rouse the passions of the mob to deeds of violence. (Pp. 13, 8.) But he clearly sees, as does Dr. Whittaker, that *disunion in the Church* is the cause of the disorganization which seems to threaten Protestantism, a disunion which he acknowledges to be on the increase both in England and in America.—P. 13.

With him we fully agree, though with him we may lament it not. We have endeavored by a simple, and, we think, a striking process, to show in what manner and to what extent this disunion pervades Protestantism. There seemed to be but one cardinal point, round which all Protestants would centre; but one *oriflamme*, under the wavings of whose sacred symbol, all the scattered tribes of the Reformation would rally, and march in unity of purpose; but one common principle which separated them now, as it did formerly, from the hostile camp, and which, by being universally and simultaneously proclaimed as a watchword, might give a semblance, at least, of harmony and unanimity. It was determined to give to the world the grand spectacle of Protestants in union, for the brief space of one single day, by declaring that day sacred to the assertion of this one indivisible deed

of settlement, in which every sect had an equal share and an equal provision made for its existence: and the result is, that a day was thus found whereon each denomination, as if by common consent, flung its condemnation upon all who differed from itself. Can anything be wanted stronger, to prove that dissent and disunion, yea, strife and bitterness, are essentially mixed up with the first fundamental principle of all Protestantism? We might have even pushed our argument much further, had we thought the subject sufficiently interesting to a majority of our readers. For we could have shown how the preacher of each sect has made use of the occasion to establish his own favorite dogma of Christianity, as the subject of the day's rejoicing, and to propose his own panacea for the acknowledged evils, which have invaded, and the foreseen dangers which still threaten, the fabric of Protestanism. Like the persons mentioned in the apologue, each one recommends the city walls to be built of the material on which his own craft is engaged. Dr. Whittaker wants church authority and control, in matters ecclesiastical; the others require only the preaching of the total corruption of man, and of the all-sufficiency of redemption through Christ; while Mr. Slight, indulging in a flight of eloquence peculiar to himself, exclaims that "the last named doctrine [the sinner's justification through faith] was the thunderbolt which the immortal Luther hurled at the towers and battlements of Popery." Who does

not expect to hear, in the next sentence, the crash of ruin which so mighty a stroke, from such an arm, must have occasioned? We, at least, already saw, in fancy, the turrets nodding to their fall, and the bastions rent and riven by the thunderbolt of this Protestant Boanerges. But listen to the sublime effect of the "immortal" stroke. "It [the thunderbolt] fell on the *toes* of the great image of superstition"—surely it crushed *them* at least?—Oh no: "and they *began* to crumble into dust!" (P. 15.) How correct the aim, and how deadly its effects!

By the remarks in which we have indulged, we do not apprehend that we can have offended men of a moderate and charitable spirit among Protestants; for they must reprobate, as much as we, these ill-judged attempts to get up a no-popery cry, under the cloak of a religious institution, and to place the point at issue between the two religions upon false grounds, supporting their side only by unfeeling calumny and coarse abuse. Against such as assail us thus, we shall always feel it our duty to rise, armed with keener criticism and severer reproof; though self-respect will, we trust, be sufficient to preserve us from falling into their faults, and stooping to the use of opprobrious epithets, or unfair representations. But such as contradict our faith in an honest and friendly spirit, who, in the substance of their statements regarding us, depart not wittingly from truth, who, in their arguments, avoid all tortuous and uncandid logic,

and, in their tone and style, violate not the courtesies of society,—such as thus take the field against us, shall find us ever ready to meet them with unvarnished argument, and with a reciprocation of every kindly feeling.

We hesitate not to assert, that the era of excitement and passion in religious discussion has passed away; we can now, thank God, make ourselves heard, and we are willingly listened to by our fellow-subjects. The appointment of days and seasons for the celebration of anti-catholic feelings will no more answer, than did the collection of mobs, in former times, to burn our places of worship, or the later gatherings of men and women in the area of Exeter Hall, for purposes not more holy, and certainly not less incendiary. We are loth to touch upon this theme again, after the full and satisfactory exposure made in our last number; but the connection between the scenes of that place and our present topic forces it upon us. When we entered that hall, and, casting up our eyes, saw, inscribed over its portal, the expressive name ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΟΝ, as if to indicate a place where brethren love, and are taught to love, we were tempted to feel, in spite of sad experience, a hope, an augury, that justice or charity would at last influence the proceedings of those who had chosen such a motto. We allude, of course, to that meeting which took place shortly after the appearance of our last number, wherein one of the most shameless exhibitions ever wit-

nessed was publicly made. We mean not to enter into any refutation of the false and deceptive reasoning there displayed, for we hold it positively beneath notice; nor do we intend to dwell upon the farce of pretending that any absent member of parliament would have been heard, when those who were present, and whose profession particularly qualified them to grapple with their assailants, were forbidden to reply. It is not to such things that we mean to advert. It is the shameless effrontery of a second appearance before an assembly of Englishmen, after the cruel manner in which their feelings had been played with on the first occasion, that chiefly excites our indignation. That one individual on earth may have a forehead, proof against the self-inflicted pillory of standing in the face of those who had witnessed his previous conduct, experience has now proved to be possible; but where he summoned courage to invite those whom he had made partakers of his degradation, to place their feelings and characters once more under his control, it is beyond our knowledge of human nature to discover. There must be deep stores of unflinching hardihood, laid up in dark corners of the mind, which we hope never to explore. When we recollect the afflicting spectacle of the preceding assembly,* the approxima-

* The circumstances here alluded to will be now in the recollection of comparatively few readers. On the 14th of July, 1836, a great meeting of the Protestant Association took place, of which a detailed account will be found in the

tion to savage ferocity in the expression of many around us, upon the forged epistle being read,

Dublin Review of the same month. It was remarkable for its concluding act, the effects of which are described in the text. The Rev. Mr. M'Ghee, the orator of the day, produced a document, purporting to be a letter from his Holiness Gregory XVI. to the bishops of Ireland, in which the Pontiff was made to inculcate the most shameless deception. The wretched fiction was the work of the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, and had been put into Mr. M'Ghee's hands late the evening before. He vouched for its genuineness, and excited his audience by means of it, to a pitch of wild fanaticism.

As these meetings had affected an impartial character, it had been deemed proper to put their pretensions to the test. Platform tickets had been procured for several Catholics, the writer included; and we presented ourselves at the commencement of the meeting, and sent in a respectful note to the chairman, requesting to be heard in reply. A refusal was given, on the ground that none but Mr. O'Connell, or, I believe, Mr. Shiel, who had been challenged, could be allowed to speak on the Catholic side! The party retired, and wrote a protest, which was inserted, as an advertisement, in the next day's principal papers.

Later in the day, passing Exeter Hall, I took advantage of my ticket to ascend the platform, keeping retired; and had the good fortune to hear Mr. M'Ghee begin his extraordinary announcement of the papal letter, and witnessed the fanatical excitement which he raised. While he was reading, an elderly gentleman, with terror depicted on his countenance, turned round to me and said: "Pray, do you know what is the date of this most important document?" I replied: "I do not know; but of course it is a forgery." He stared at me with horror and amazement, and shrank from me, saying: "You may think so; but I don't." "A few days will show," I rejoined; and, disgusted with this exhibition of Protestant fury, falsehood, and ungodliness,

their knitted brows and scowling glances, the deep and half-suppressed growl of execration which fretted in their throats, till vented in a fierce yell of unhuman applause; when we remember the bitter retort, in accents of scorn cast upon

and fearing I should render myself obnoxious by some expression of feeling, I retired. Mr. M'Ghee had mentioned that the pamphlet could be bought at Rivington's, and thither I hied, and having asked, and obtained assurance, that it was sold as a genuine document, I purchased it, and had no difficulty in at once detecting its spuriousness. It followed servilely the forms of the papal Encyclical on the Jubilee, and imitated its translation, by the insertion of peculiar Latin phrases in brackets (I believe the very same). But this imitation was pursued to the extent of entirely proving spuriousness. The Pope's Encyclical had been dated at St. Mary Major's, on the Feast of Our Lady's Assumption, Aug 15, 1832; and the new letter, by way of seeming accuracy, was dated *at the same place*, on the Feast of her Nativity, Sept. 8, the same year. Now it so happened, that after Vespers of the Assumption, the pope left his palace of the Quirinal, at which he dates from St. Mary Major's, for the Vatican, where he dates from St. Peter's; so that any document, issued on the 8th of September, would have been dated from the latter basilica.

These of course were mere technical proofs, useful to convince those whom the absurd and wicked tenor of the letter itself should fail to satisfy, that it was a forgery.

For the rest of this curious episode in the history of Protestant controversy we refer our readers to the article in the *Review*, already alluded to, of July, 1836. (Vol. i.) But the astounding fact could not there be mentioned, that the rev. passer of false coin had front again to face and address an English audience, in the same hall; and was listened to. This is referred to in the text to which we have appended this note.]

us, as we remarked, to one who asked us the date of the document, that a few days would prove it spurious; but still more, when we recall to mind the feverish excitement of the audience below us, of thousands of females, whose cheeks glowed with a hectic fire, and whose eyes flashed with a frantic glare; when we calculate the pitch of fanatical excitement to which they must have all been raised, and then the consequent proportionate reaction which must have taken place, not merely on the return of good sense to its habitual dominion, but still more on the discovery that they had given themselves up to such unworthy feelings at the bidding of forgery and deceit, we can hardly estimate the depth of self-rebuke and inward degradation which they must have felt, or the swell of contemptuous anger that must have arisen against the man, who first used the cheat, then defended it, and afterwards had courage enough to summon them once more to meet him, and let him juggle them out of their propriety of behavior, and all their dignity of sentiment. Yet there, in their presence, he stood, unshamed and unshrinking, behind his store of books, even as the juggler behind his cups and balls. And as the latter seeks to increase the amazement of his gaping spectators, by shaking out each time a pellet of larger dimensions, till one of enormous size is produced, so did the reverend trickster seek to astound his audience by similar progressiveness in his marvels. Last year, the object of

his attack was a simple priest, poor Peter Dens; and little *duodecimos* issued from his trunk, to the delight of his yet inexperienced auditory. But on the 14th of July, he aimed at nobler quarry; bishops and archbishops were his game, the mysterious box was opened, and out flew *quartos;* bibles without their covers, and covers without their leaves appeared; till Dr. Murray and all his brethren were proved guilty of we know not what, by the quickness with which one was substituted for the other. We thought the powers of such conjuration were exhausted, and wondered what would next come forth, as he stood once more b hind the leathern trunk, that repository whence, on the previous occasion, had issued weapons, which the chairman characterized as drawn from "the armory of Satan." Well, it opened; and, t' s time, appeared pregnant with enormous *folios*, a most an entire *Bullarium* hidden in its controversial womb;—for now all inferior orders of the hierarchy were to be overlooked, and popes alone were to be his aim. We ask, what shall we come to next? What treat of sufficient magnitude, whether in the subject or in the instruments of display, remains in store for the next general meeting?—Yes, there is one which would astonish us more than all the past, and would efface them forever from our memory. Let us have a display of candor and fairness, of liberality and charity; let us have argument instead of declamation, true statements in place of groundless asser-

tions, and then we may own the place to be not unworthy of the name inscribed over its door.

But, to return from this digression; it is a frightful thing to convoke assemblies of men, whether by crowding them into one hall, or by summoning them, as on the 4th of October, to their places of worship, for the purpose of teaching them how to hate. It is revolting to think how a day, the sabbath of God's rest, should have been appointed throughout the land for its inhabitants to meet, and whet their keenest feelings of religious abhorrence towards their fellow-countrymen, upon the book of God's word. It is humiliating to see the principle of faith, the ground-work of religion to a large body of Christians, commemorated only by the most glaring violation of its first practical commandment,—that of love. It is instructive, however, to trace the essentially disuniting, disorganizing character of this principle, by finding its solemnization lead to such strife and dissension among those who have adopted it. This, for the present, is the point to which we wish to turn our reader's attention; that, if a Catholic, he may bless Providence for having placed him out of such a self-divided kingdom, and exert himself to bring others into the unity of faith; and, if a Protestant, his attention may be drawn to the insecurity of the foundations on which he reposes. If a cranny suddenly appear in the wall of our house, or if fragments of plaster fall from its ceilings, we apprehend danger, and are warned by

such symptomatic intimations, to seek a shelter elsewhere. What then should it be, when the walls of a Church are torn and breached by outward attack, and when they, who should serve as its pillars, are seen to rush against each other, and jostle together for their mutual overthrow? Surely, even if there were not so high and holy an authority on the instability of a kingdom and a house thus divided, human calculations would lead us to conclude, that here the government is unstable, and the building unsound.

END OF VOL. IV.

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AUTHOR
Essays on Various Subjects IV
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